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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,

FROM THE

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION
TO THE REVOLUTION:

ILLUSTRATING A MOST INTERESTING PERIOD OF
THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BY

GEORGE COOK, D. D.
MINISTER OF LAURENCEKIRK.

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———. *Sed in longum tamen ævum*
Manserunt, hodiéque manent vestigia.—HOR.

VOLUME SECOND.

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1592. Distracted state of Scotland.

THE turbulence and daring contempt of law which at this time prevailed amongst the most powerful of the nobility in Scotland, exhibit a deplorable view of the internal state of the nation, and required for their correction a more vigorous monarch than the Prince who occupied the throne. The readiness with which he yielded to every solicitation for mercy to those whom he should have punished, and his perverted inclination to favour the most unfaithful of his subjects, far from softening their rancour, encouraged the most daring and profligate schemes, and prevented every approach to the tranquillity resulting from the protection of a steady and enlightened government.

Daring attempt of Bothwell.

The disaffected or unprincipled, perceiving that James, elated as he was with a high idea of his own wisdom, surrendered himself to those courtiers who surrounded him, used every effort to remove from him all who were hostile to their views; and thus made attacks, which, had he possessed a more intrepid character, even treason would not have dared to devise. The Earl of Bothwell, restless and ambitious, not satisfied with the outrage which he

had committed at the palace of Holyroodhouse, renewed his intrigues with some of the faithless domestics of the sovereign, and endeavoured to execute a scheme, which might have been attended with the most fatal consequences. He concerted his measures with the Earls of Angus and Errol, the Master of Gray, and several others, upon whose services he thought that he might depend; and the King having, after the dissolution of parliament, retired to Falkland, the conspirators resolved, whilst he was there, to force the palace, and to dictate to him the policy which they wished him to observe. He received some intimation of this intention, and was earnestly entreated by Sir Robert and Sir James Melvil, to take proper precautions against the danger with which he was threatened; but, misled by some of his attendants, he disregarded the advice of his faithful subjects, and even permitted the person whom they sent to warn him of Bothwell's approach, to be treated with derision and contempt. The messenger, irritated by such a reception, retired in disgust, but his loyalty subdued his resentment; for having, after he left the palace, met with Bothwell and his followers upon the Lomond hills, he, with much presence of mind, taking advantage of the darkness, joined them, and, when all suspicions of his intentions were removed, he pushed forward with the utmost speed, and gave the alarm at Falkland. The King now paid attention to him, and, roused from his security, took shelter in a strong

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tower connected with the palace. Errol and Colonel Stewart had remained at Falkland, having engaged to open the gates to the conspirators; but their resolution failed, and Bothwell, in dismay, found that, to gain his object, he must besiege the palace. His followers, however, worn out with fatigue, were little qualified for attempting such an enterprise. After some discharges of artillery, they relinquished all hope of success; they seized the horses in the royal stables, and took to flight. Bothwell, aware of his danger, hastened to the English borders, and had the good fortune, unmolested, to reach a place of safety. In the course of next day, the King saw himself surrounded with a large body of his loyal subjects, who had hastened to protect him, and he immediately marched with them in pursuit of the conspirators. He did not however know the route which Bothwell had taken, and, directing his course towards Edinburgh, he entered the metropolis.*

29th June.

Cabals of courtiers.

In his court he was not gratified by the harmony the want of which in his dominions he was so often

* Melvil's Memoirs, p. 201, 202. Melvil has given a very particular account of this attempt, and, as he had the best opportunities of being well informed, much reliance may be placed on his account. Spottiswoode, p. 388. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 13. Bruce, preaching in the afternoon before the King took occasion, from what had happened, to exhort him to humble himself before God, and confess his negligence, and keep his promises better than he had done formerly.

called to deplore; for it was rent by factions which he found it difficult to control. Maitland, the chancellor, had, in consequence of the act of annexation, obtained an heritable right to the lordship of Musselburgh. This lordship had originally been comprehended in the property belonging to the abbacy of Dunfermline, which had been settled on the Queen, and her Majesty, wishing that the whole lands should be put in her possession, insisted upon the chancellor surrendering the part which had been allotted to him. Unwilling to comply with what so materially affected his interest, he refused, and the Queen, irritated by the refusal, formed a party against him, which was cordially joined by those lords who had long envied the ascendancy which he had acquired. Unable to resist the powerful influence which was now directed against him, he withdrew from court, and lived for a considerable time in retirement,—an event which had a considerable effect upon the interests of the church, which he had lately so strenuously supported.

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Disorders in the northern parts of the kingdom.

Whilst these commotions and intrigues were agitating the southern parts of the kingdom, the north of Scotland be[illegible]ne of the most brutal violence, and the most sangu[illegible]ary devastation. The

* Spottiswoode, p. 389, 390. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 150. Mackenzie's Life of Lord Thirlstane, in Vol. III. of his Lives. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1233, 1234.

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clans, who venerated the Earl of Murray, burned with revenge on account of the melancholy fate of their chief, and imputing this to Huntly, they burst into the domains of the Gordons, and were guilty of ferocious cruelty, and wanton injustice. The Earl of Huntly did not calmly view this aggression, but collecting his forces, he retaliated upon those who had commenced this ruinous warfare. The total defiance of government by both the parties engaged in this struggle, filled the King with just indignation, and, laying aside his suspicions, he gave a commission of lieutenancy to the Earl of Angus, and sent him to restore peace, which he happily effectuated. *

Desperate schemes of the Popish faction.

Whilst that nobleman was thus engaged, a discovery in which he was deeply implicated was accidentally made, and prevented evils infinitely more dreadful than could have resulted from the contests or the violence of internal factions. The clergy had, with unremitted zeal, laboured to impress upon the people and upon the King the dangers which were to be apprehended from the Popish lords, and from the Jesuits and other emissaries of the Catholic powers, who, notwithstanding the laws made to prevent it, were constantly repairing to Scotland. The ministers plainly considered that James did not enter into their views upon this interesting subject with the warmth which they conceived that

* Spottiswoode, p. 390. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1234.

he should have felt, and, occasionally insinuating that his lenient conduct to the enemies of the Protestant faith might lead to an unfavourable judgment as to his own religious sentiments, they took a most active and commendable part in detecting every secret scheme, and watching over measures which they dreaded would be equally fatal to the liberty and the religion of their country. Under impressions of the deepest alarm, a fast had been appointed, and a system had been established for speedily conveying to all loyal subjects, and sincere Protestants, any information which might be procured respecting the dark and execrable plots, the existence of which they confidently affirmed. * CHAP. VIII. 1593.

It soon appeared that their forebodings, far from originating in intemperate zeal, or enthusiastical credulity, rested on the surest foundation. Andrew Knox, minister of Paisley, had, probably in consequence of the wise precautions which the clergy had adopted, learnt that George Kerr, a brother of Lord Newbattle, was just about to embark for Spain, and was supposed to have in his possession most important communications from the Popish lords to the Spanish monarch. Knox did not for a moment hesitate about the part which he should act, but, taking with him a few young men who were attending the university of Glasgow, he apprehended Kerr, Dec. 27.

* Calderwood's History, p. 271—274. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Davidson, p. 25, 26, and in that of Andrew Melvil, p. 58.

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searched his coffers, and finding various papers of vast moment, sent him to Edinburgh, where he was committed to prison. Having been brought before the King and the council, at which a few of the ministers attended, the letters which had been seized in his possession were read, and, after some reluctance, he made a full confession relating to the business in which he was engaged. The plot was, that the King of Spain should land thirty thousand men in Scotland, and march directly for England, leaving a strong detachment, which, aided by the Scotish Catholics, were either to extirpate the Protestant religion, or to procure a full toleration for the Popish faith. A number of Jesuits and priests had been employed by Philip in making the necessary arrangements, and these artful men had actually procured blanks, signed by the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, and some gentlemen of landed property, which were to be filled up in Spain, by Crichton a Jesuit, agreeably to the suggestions of Philip. These blanks, with several letters connected with this atrocious scheme, were produced, and the hand-writing of the lords was identified.

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1593. Jan. 12. A few days after the apprehension of Kerr, Angus returned from his expedition in the north, and, ignorant of what had happened, he came to his usual place of residence in Edinburgh; but the magistrates immediately secured him,—an exertion of authority with which the King, when he first heard of it was highly dissatisfied, but which, upon the

discovery of the plot, he was obliged to approve. Angus denied the charge against himself, affirming that the subscriptions were forged; but David Graham, who was acquainted with the whole transaction, having corroborated the evidence of Kerr, and given the key for interpreting the feigned names, all doubts respecting that nobleman's guilt, and the reality of the plan itself, were removed.*

The King issues a proclamation. 5th Jan.

James seems at this time to have been seriously alarmed, and to have been convinced that severe measures were requisite for preserving his throne, and saving his people from the gloomiest tyranny, and the most cruel superstition. He immediately issued a proclamation, in which he declared, "that, through the efforts of Jesuits and seminary priests, subjects of his realm, many had been led to apostatise from the religion in which they had been instructed, and at length been seduced to cast off that due obedience which they owed to their Sovereign, and to enter into a treasonable conspiracy for bringing into the kingdom, in the subsequent year, strangers from Spain, to the overthrow of his Highness,

* Calderwood in his MS. History. Vol. IV. p. 274—291, and 299—302, and in printed History, p. 275—281, has given a full account of this plot, and inserted several of the letters. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 319, 320. Row's MSS. p. 56, 57. The deposition of Kerr is detailed by Spottiswoode, p. 390, 391, and in Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVI. p. 190—192. Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 141. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 58, and of Davidson, p. 27.

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1593. and all professing the true religion, and to the ruin and conquest of his ancient kingdom, and the liberty which his nation had for so many ages enjoyed, that it might be subject to the slavery and tyranny of that proud nation, which hath made such unlawful and cruel conquests in divers parts of the world, as well upon Christians as infidels, wherever the aid of Spain hath been sought." Having thus pointed out the danger to which all his people were exposed, he intimated his resolution to spare none that should be found guilty of this treason, but to make them an example to all posterity, requiring, in the most earnest manner, all his good subjects to beware of these Jesuits, traitors to their native country, and in their prayers to implore the mercy of God for preservation of themselves, their wives, and children, from the conspiracy which had been intended. *

Manly and patriotic conduct of the ministers.

The ministers were much affected by the discoveries which had been brought to light, and were led, by every motive which could influence virtuous and independent men, to give to the government their most effectual support. Constantly impressing upon the King, whose fickleness they dreaded, the necessity of acting with vigour, they summoned

8th Jan. a convention to meet in Edinburgh, to consider what, in the awful situation of the kingdom, it was

* Calderwood, p. 281, 282. Spottiswoode, p. 391. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1235.

prudent to propose. Upon its assembling, Robert Bruce, who had often distinguished himself by his attachment to the best interests of his country, and wh[illegible] had been present at the confession of Graham, e[illegible]arged upon the danger of the church and state, an[illegible]hey who heard him unanimously resolved to send [illegible]missioners to the King, to intreat that he would p[illegible] the [illegible]ws in execution against Jesuits, and those wh[illegible]eceived them, and inflict punishment upon [illegible]ch as should be found to have been concerned in the conspiracy. Although at first he expressed dissatisfaction at the meeting of a convention without his authority, he listened to their suggestions, and asked them to deliberate upon what assistance they could give to him. They replied, that in urging him to call a parliament, and to summon to it those noblemen who had subscribed [illegible]blanks, they were aware that these men would [illegible]ppear, and that it would be necessary to proceed against them by force of arms; that they [illegible]ly offered their attendance upon his person till [illegible]emies were seized, or driven from the kingdom, promising to keep a guard of three hundred cavalry, and a hundred infantry, for strengthening his administration,—it being understood that this offer arose from the peculiar state of the nation, and should never be urged as a precedent, or prejudge, in time to come, the liberty of the realm. This munificent and patriotic offer was gratefully received,—a convention of the estates was appointed to

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20th Feb.

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1593. meet the King at Aberdeen, to which city he was immediately to repair, and, to evince his sincerity, he, contrary to the expectation of many, ordered Graham of Fintry, who had been found guilty, to

15th Feb. be executed. *

Proceedings in the north.

Upon the King's approach, the Earls of Huntly and Errol fled to the inaccessible parts of the country. Many of the most respectable lieges in the north met their sovereign, and joined with him in subscribing a bond for the defence of the Protestant religion, and the punishment of the conspirators, whom they explicitly named, and, having verified the subscription of those lords who signed the blanks, they seized their castles, and took every precaution for preventing commotion, or the continuance of those practices which had so nearly proved fatal to the liberty and the independence of the kingdom. †

Having thus secured that part of his domin where the influence of the Popish lords was

March. powerful, James returned to Edinburgh. Yet withstanding all which he had done, even early suspicions were entertained, that, with astonishing infatuation, he was partial to the men who

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 320. Calderwood, p. 277, 278, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 391. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1235.

† A very interesting account of all the measures which were adopted is inserted in the Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 434—440. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 306—308.

had conspired for the subversion of his throne. The Earl of Angus found means to escape, and join his confederates; to the solicitations of the Countesses of Huntly and Errol, the King gave a firm, indeed, but a courteous reply, which preserved their hopes that he would be lenient; and nothing can be conceived more strikingly expressive of distrust, than that the council thought it prudent to frame an act, that no one should solicit his Majesty in favour of the conspirators, and that even the oaths of his domestics should be taken that they would not intercede with him for indulgence or pardon to any who had been connected with the plot which had been discovered. *

1593.

Embassy from Elizabeth.

Sir Robert Bowes, who was at this time residing at the Scotish court, as ambassador from England, immediately communicated to his sovereign the strange discoveries which had produced such agitation in Scotland, and Elizabeth, firmly persuaded that it was wise to support the Protestant faith, anxious to defeat the intrigues of Philip, whose enmity to her his late disasters had increased, and doubting the firmness of James, sent Lord Burgh upon a special embassy to congratulate the King upon the detection of the traiterous designs which had been in agitation, to offer her

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 431. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 420. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 352, and printed Hist. p. 284.

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assistance in pursuing and punishing those who were found guilty, and strongly to urge the importance of proceeding against them with severity. Burgh was instructed to represent, that Elizabeth wished James to act as a king ought to do in such a case; that if he could not seize the persons of the conspirators, he should confiscate their property; and as the matter concerned all princes professing the same religion, she wished to be informed what his resolutions were, that she might communicate to her allies the measures which were to be adopted, in the two British kingdoms, for resisting and defeating the attempts of Spain. James could not fail to perceive that she had imbibed the suspicions which he had reason to believe were entertained by his clergy, and a large proportion of his subjects. Wishing to remove these suspicions, or offended at the insinuations of his hesitating to discharge what was so imperiously his duty, and at her suggesting in what manner he should be guided, he replied, that he had already begun to act against the Popish lords; that he was determined to persevere in bringing them to trial; but that as there was much danger from so many of his powerful nobles being in rebellion, and as Elizabeth was interested in preventing hostilities by the King of Spain, it was reasonable that she should give him effectual aid. He also requested that she would deliver up Bothwell, who was lurking in her dominions, and who, it appears from various do-

cuments, was secretly protected or patronized by the Queen of England. *

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1593. Irresolute conduct of James, with respect to the Popish Lords.

The ministers appear to have most justly appreciated the character of James. Strong as were the motives which had decided his resolution, that resolution soon wavered; and although Huntly, Errol, and Angus were declared to be rebels, the declaration was withdrawn upon the King's return to Edinburgh; and some of their agents were by his

March 19.

July.

mmand set at liberty, upon furnishing sureties at they would appear when they were summon-. Kerr, whose detention was of so much impor-ce, made his escape, and, when the parliament, which it was hoped that the lords would be for-ited, met in July, this sentence was not pronoun-d, on the ground that sufficient proof of their uilt had not been procured. There was no hesi-tion, however, felt by the people in deciding hat was the real cause of this indulgence, and ne of the ministers called the parliament a black rliament, because, having been called to punish itors, the archtraitors of Scotland had been ermitted to escape. †

* Compare the account given by Spottiswoode, p, 392, w Calderwood, p. 284, who is supported by Camden I. Vol. of Rymer's Foedera, there are some pap ght upon Elizabeth's views with respect to Bothw matters connected with this period, to which refer Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 153 and 161. Rapin's p. 441.

† Calderwood, p. 286, and 287. Spottis

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1598. Ecclesiastical affairs. 24th April.

Before the meeting of parliament, the General Assembly had been convened at Dundee. The members immediately addressed their Sovereign, soliciting that the acts against Jesuits, and those who received them, might be enforced; and they then proceeded to the regulation of those ecclesiastical affairs which they were called to consider. The King, by his commissioner, Sir James Melvil, presented a copy of the celebrated act of last parliament, fully establishing the presbyterian government and discipline, and the communication was received with that satisfaction, which was to be expected in men, viewing, in the light in which they did view it, the vast importance of modelling the church in conformity with the principles now recognized. James, however, was constantly apprehensive that the freedom taken by the ministers in their discourses, and the popular nature of the General Assemblies, would injure the prerogative; and, to provide some security against this, he instructed Melvil to submit certain proposals to the Assembly, declaring that he could not, consistently with his honour, see the privilege of his crown hurt, and that he was determined to enforce that clause of the late act, which provided that Assemblies should be summoned by the King; he requested, that, before dissolving, the ministers would come of their number to desire him to appoint

Vol. I. folio, under Life of John Davidson, who preach-
, p. 27.

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the day of their next meeting; and that they would pass an act, prohibiting all the clergy from declaiming in the pulpit against the proceedings of his Majesty, or his council. This ordinance he demanded, not only on account of his known intention to promote piety and justice, but because he was at all times ready to give access to such of the ministers as wished, in their own names, or in name of their brethren, to make to him any representation. He also alluded, in general terms, to the Popish and Spanish practices; but he particularly specified the Earl of Bothwell as an enemy to the crown, and to the religion of the kingdom; and he enjoined them to convey to him such intelligence of the designs of that nobleman, as they should at any time, through their sedulous endeavours, succeed in obtaining.*

To these requests the Assembly returned the most cautious answers. With respect to summoning that ecclesiastical judicatory, it was agreed to abide by the act which had been lately passed; and it was also unanimously ordained, "that no minister within the realm should utter from the pulpit any rash or irreverent speeches against his Majesty, the council, or their proceedings; but that all public admonitions should proceed upon just and necessary causes, and sufficient warrant in all fear, love and reverence, under pain of deposing from the

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 423, 424. Calderwood, p. 285, 286. Spottiswoode, p. 393.

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function of the ministry all who disobeyed this ordinance." * The King was not satisfied with the manner in which the ordinance was expressed. Although there were certainly some restraints imposed by it upon that licentiousness of discourse in which the ministers had frequently indulged, it did not absolutely prohibit the practice which he reprobated; and as it left it to themselves to decide what were just and necessary causes for speaking of the transactions of government, he, with some reason, dreaded that no material change in their conduct would take place, and that his measures would be publicly discussed with the same freedom, and the same severity of censure, as before. Yet, perhaps, it could not have been expected, and, in a national point of view, would not have been desirable, that the Assembly should make a more ample concession. It was placed in a very peculiar situation. The constitution of the kingdom, far from being fixed, or administered without any hazard to the religion and the freedom of the people, was struggling for existence; assailed on the one hand by the ardent desire of the monarch to render himself absolute,—and, on the other, by the unprincipled efforts of a Popish faction, which would have entailed upon their country spiritual and political oppression. Against these dangers parliament could

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 425, 426. Calderwood, p. 246. Spottiswoode, p. 393. Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 313—321.

make but a feeble resistance. It was much influenced by the crown, or by some of the powerful nobles, who kept steadily in view their own exaltation, or that of their order; and the only strong check which could be given to the most ruinous or criminal policy was the public voice, expressing the sentiments of the community. But in what manner could the attention of the nation be excited, or its will signified? At this period the liberty of the press was much shackled, and sufficient intellectual progress had not yet been made, to render the extensive circulation of political publications an instrument for the preservation of liberty. The ministers alone, whose interests were identified with those of the great mass of the community, who were held in the utmost veneration, and who had vast influence in guiding popular feelings and opinions, could render to their country the essential service, which, in a different state of society, would, from other quarters, have been given; and however, from our being placed under happier circumstances, we may shrink at the broad indecent reproach, which, from the pulpit, was frequently directed even against the sovereign himself; however much we may be convinced that such a practice now would be useless, or intolerable,—we must, if we calmly investigate the history of the period at present under review, be satisfied, that we in a great degree owe to the intrepidity of the clergy, the liberties which we enjoy; and that had

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they remained silent, not branding the measures which they saw to be pregnant with the heaviest evils, the King would either have destroyed every vestige of freedom, or, what was more likely, his throne would have been subverted, and Scotland delivered into the hands of a merciless and bigotted tyrant. James, however, could not be supposed justly to appreciate the principles upon which the Assembly acted; and he unwisely shewed how much he was dissatisfied with its guarded determination, by paying little attention to the earnest petitions for restraining Popery, and to its well-founded remonstrances against pillaging the church, by converting the richest parts of its patrimony into temporal estates, which he bestowed upon his favourites, or upon those whose services he wished to reward. His other requests were by the ministers readily and cordially granted.*

Singular resolution of the Assembly.

After the General Assemblies began to display their enmity to the episcopal order, it had become an annual practice to elect a few of the ministers to be what they termed visitors or commissioners of countries, who had powers nearly similar to those which the bishops enjoyed; and it was not uncommon to give this office to some of the prelates, thus

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Davidson, p. 26 and 29. Baillie's Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, p. 29, and 49, 50. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 420 and 426; the former of these places compared with Spottiswoode, p. 393, and Collier, Vol. II. p. 640, 641. Calderwood, p. 286.

reconciling their remaining in the church with the sovereignty of the Assembly. But when the prospect of the full establishment of presbytery became clear, it was thought right to abolish this office; and it had accordingly been declared unnecessary, every presbytery possessing, within itself, sufficient powers for doing what had been usually done by the commissioners. * The office indeed was inconsistent with those principles of parity for which the Presbyterians had so strenuously contended; and the act abolishing it was a step to which these principles directly led. Yet at this assembly, to which the act of parliament recognizing the new establishment was communicated, the office was renewed, and renewed in a manner which brought it, except in name, very near to the function of bishops, the removal of which had been held forth as so necessary to the purity of religion. The act was thus expressed: "Forasmuch as the visitation of the presbyteries throughout the whole realm is thought very necessary, and from divers Assemblies commissions have been given to that effect, the necessity still existing, the church and commissioners present have given commission to certain brethren to visit and try the doctrine, life, conversation, diligence, and fidelity of the pastors within the said presbyteries, and also to ascertain whether there be any of the beneficed ministers within the same not residing,

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* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 464. Calderwood, p. 258.

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and who have no just cause of non-residence; to proceed, with the consent of presbyteries, against all who have dilapidated their benefices, set tacks, and made other arrangements, without the consent of the church, and to try slanderous persons unmeet to serve in the church, and unable or unqualified to teach and edify their hearers." * This was certainly a wide step towards the restoration of Episcopal privileges. In this light it was regarded; and had the King, availing himself of it, studiously conciliated the ministers, he might have seen, what he afterwards was so desirous to introduce, an uniformity of ecclesiastical polity in both the British kingdoms, with the concurrence of the great majority of his people.

New commotions.

James had so decidedly expressed his indignation at the conduct of the Earl of Bothwell, and had so warmly remonstrated with the English minister, upon the protection which his sovereign had extended to that turbulent nobleman, that it might naturally have been conceived that he could never again presume to appear in Scotland. Yet some cabals at court occasioned his being thrust into the presence of the King, and his obtaining indulgence inconsistent with what was due to the throne and to the honour of the laws which he had so fre-

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 421. Calderwood, p. 286, 287, after recording the act, makes, what he probably intended, as an apology for it: "wha was the judgment of the Assembly of the office of visitation ye have heard before."

quently violated. Thirlstane the chancellor, either tired of a sequestered life, or lamenting the conduct of James, made known his earnest wish to be restored to court; and in order to pave the way for his restoration, he surrendered to the Queen those lands, by refusing which he had excited her displeasure, and suspended the influence which he had long exerted. The King shewed to the Queen the artful letter of the chancellor, in which were many expressions of respect and regard for her Majesty; and being himself desirous to enjoy the assistance of a minister who had been so faithful to him, he urged her to lay aside her animosity, to which, the property which she desired being delivered to her, she gave her consent. The resolution to recal Maitland many of the courtiers heard with a determination to prevent its being carried into execution, and, as the most effectual mode of obtaining their object, they presumptuously decided upon bringing back Bothwell, the inveterate enemy of the Chancellor, hoping that, notwithstanding his former atrocious insults, he might gain the ascendancy over his feeble and irresolute sovereign. The Earl of Athol, who had joined with the Duke of Lennox, Lord Ochiltree, and several others of the name of Stuart, in this scheme, invited Bothwell to a house which he then occupied near the palace, and as from the dissolution of Parliament, which had just taken place, the nobles had free access to the King, that they might pay their respects to him before leaving the

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city, the Countess of Athol one morning introduced Bothwell into his Majesty's bed-chamber. James was at this time in an adjacent apartment; but when he came and saw Bothwell, and some attendants, standing with their swords in their hands, imagining that he was betrayed, he cried out treason. Upon this Bothwell, falling on his knees, begged for mercy. James indignantly exclaimed that he was dishonoured by this intrusion, and, throwing himself into a chair, said, Strike traitors, for I have no desire to live longer. Bothwell, with many oaths, professed that he came only to crave pardon; to which the King answered, that pardon extorted was no pardon, and that it ill became supplicants to sue with weapons in their hands. Whilst he was uttering these words, he saw a number of Bothwell's adherents enter the chamber, and found that they had taken possession of the outer court of the palace. The report of what had happened was instantly carried to the city, and the chief magistrate, with a number of citizens, soon appeared to rescue their sovereign; but James, who had been in some degree soothed, and who was probably averse to shedding the blood of his subjects, requested them to disperse, and to wait his orders. Bothwell, for some time, used every art to ingratiate himself with the King; but, when he found that he was not successful, he changed his tone, and threw out insinuations of farther acts of violence or constraint, which so alarmed the monarch, that he summoned

his council, and complained that he was forcibly detained and undutifully treated. Had there been any vigour in the administration, Bothwell would immediately have been convicted of treason; but, through the interference of Bowes, the English ambassador, and some of the ministers of Edinburgh, who regarding this worthless nobleman as a Protestant, probably hoped that he would be instrumental in stimulating the government against the Popish lords, the following concessions in his favour were extorted: "That he and his associates should not only be pardoned for their past attempts, but restored to their possessions; that a parliament should be called in November, and an act confirming the pardon and restitution should be passed; that, in the mean time, the King should not admit into his presence the Chancellor, Lord Hume, the Master of Glammis, or Sir George Hume; that henceforth Bothwell, and his confederates, should be reputed good subjects, and should be treated as if they had never offended." Although, in a moment of weakness or of terror, the King pledged his honour as a prince to execute these ignominious articles, he was, upon reflection, filled with indignation, and, notwithstanding the acquittal of Bothwell from the strange charge of having, for carrying his schemes with regard to the King into effect, consulted with witches, James determined not to yield to the imperious mandates of a profligate faction. He had summoned a convention to meet at Stir-

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ling, for considering some proposals about quieting the borders, and a considerable number having attended it, he laid open to them the state of his mind, detailed every thing which had happened, and solicited their opinion whether he was bound to adhere to what was so injurious to majesty, and to which, through fear, he had consented. The confession was not the most dignified which could be made by a sovereign, but the convention believing it to be true, and indignant at the insolence to which the King had been subjected, found that the conduct of Bothwell had been treasonable, and that the conditions of the agreement ought not to be observed. James, thus set at liberty from his engagements, was still willing to pardon Bothwell upon his submission and leaving the kingdom; and when this was intimated to him, he declared that he was satisfied. He soon, however, repented, and endeavoured to excite new troubles; but his designs being counteracted, he fled and was again denounced as a traitor. *

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Proceedings of the Synod of Fife against the Popish Lords. Sept. 25.

The lenient measures which had been adopted in Parliament with respect to the Popish Lords, the enormity of whose guilt, and the awful consequences which might have resulted from it, were deeply impressed upon the public mind, filled with sorrow

* Spottiswoode, p. 394—396. Calderwood's History, p. 287, 288. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio in Life of Robert Bruce, p. 18. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1240—1242. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 154, 155. Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 142.

and indignation all who valued the civil and religious interests of Scotland; and the ministers, whose zeal against Popery conspired with other causes in deciding their sentiments and conduct, did not hesitate to avow and to inculcate, that there was, in the King himself, and those who surrounded him, some desire to pardon men whom every consideration should have led them to punish. The Synod of Fife, which happened to assemble when these representations were exerting their full effect, deliberated upon the state of the kingdom; and after declaring that the King was slow in repressing popery and planting the true religion; after resolving to tell him plainly what all his true subjects thought concerning his favouring and countenancing papistical traitors, and to intimate that they would sacrifice their lives rather than suffer the country to be polluted by idolatry, and overrun by blood-thirsty adherents of popery; they solemnly excommunicated the Earls of Huntly, Angus, and Errol, the Laird of Achindown, Sir James Chisholm, and all who supported them, and corresponded with the neighbouring provinces, that the sentence might be as extensively as possible published through the nation. The cordiality with which the resolutions of the Synod were every where approved, convinced James, that if the sentence were published, the people would be irritated against the Lords to whom it related, and obstacles would be thrown in the way of that weak and timid

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policy which he was inclined to follow. To prevent what he dreaded, he urged Robert Bruce, who was held in the highest estimation by the ministers, to suspend the publication, pointing out the irregularity of the sentence, and the evils which might result if such interference on the part of ecclesiastical assemblies was not repressed. Although Bruce had every disposition to preserve harmony, and had deservedly, by his prudence, ingratiated himself with the King, he did not dissemble his sentiments. He refused to do what was asked of him, and the conversation terminated by an insinuation from the monarch against that discipline and polity under which such measures were tolerated or sanctioned. *

The Popish lords petition the King. Oct. 12.

The partiality which the King was suspected to entertain for the Popish lords, was not unknown to themselves; and presuming, from his disapprobation of what had been done by the synod of Fife, that he might be induced openly to shew his intention of forgiving them, they embraced the opportunity of his going towards the borders, to meet

* MSS. Life of James Melvil, p. 323, 324. Row's MSS. p. 57. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Bruce, p. 18, 19, and Life of Davidson, p. 27. Calderwood, p. 288—291, has given a very full and interesting account of the proceedings of the Synod, throwing much light upon the state of public opinion. It may be compared with the meagre and evidently partial account of Spottiswoode, p. 396, 397. Wodrow considers the conversation between the King and Bruce as misrepresented, and even insinuates, without sufficient reason, that it did not take place.

him not far from Edinburgh, and on their knees to implore that they might be tried, and not condemned unheard. By the advice of such of his council as attended him, he ordered them to come to Perth, and there await the trial which they solicited. * 1593.

Oct. 14. An ecclesiastical convention. Oct. 17.

The intelligence of this interview was immediately conveyed to Edinburgh, and within a few days a convention, which, from the representations of the synod of Fife, had been appointed to meet for watching over the state of the kingdom, sent a deputation to the sovereign, to lament that the lords had been permitted to come into his presence, and to request, that, as they were to be tried, the trial should not commence till full time was allowed to the accusers, who intended to appear against them, for deciding upon the best mode of proceeding in a matter so interesting to the nation. Several spirited petitions, relating to the imprisonment of the lords, to the choice of the jury, and to the removal of the sentence of excommunication under which these noblemen lay, were also presented; and the commissioners were enjoined to conclude by requesting, that, if the King would not alter the day and the place of trial, he would permit the professors of the truth to guard his person from violence, and to pursue the lords to the uttermost, as they were determined rather to perish than that

* Calderwood, p. 291. Row's MSS. p. 58. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 324.

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these men, if they continued enemies to God and his truth, should remain in the kingdom. He was much irritated by these petitions, which he received at Jedburgh. He refused to acknowledge a convention which had been assembled without his permission, but perceiving the danger of irritating men, who, in language so decided, had declared their resolution, he consented to listen to them in their private capacity, and he condescended to reply to the various points which they had submitted to him. He assured them, that he had held no correspondence with the lords, and that he had not the least intimation of their intention to address him; that he was convinced that the time originally fixed for the trial was not sufficiently distant; and that he had, therefore, appointed a convention of estates at Linlithgow on the last day of the month, by whose advice he should be guided. After expressing his astonishment that the ministers, who had been so eager for the trial, should now petition for its being postponed, he told them that he should take every precaution which was requisite, and should be influenced in all his measures by his unfeigned desire to obtain security for religion, and for all his good subjects. *

This verbal reply did not satisfy those for whom it was intended, and they resolved not to relax

* MS. Hist. of James Melvil, p. 324, 325. Calderwood, p. 292, 293, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 398. Rymer's Fœdera, p. 222, —225. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 161.

their vigilance in adverting to what they believed involved the existence of the Protestant religion. The convention of estates met at Linlithgow, but not being numerously attended, a commission was given to the chancellor, and several of its most distinguished and respectable members, to consider the petition of the lords, to examine the accusations brought against them, and the defences which they made, and to determine all other matters brought under review concerning the King's state and affairs, and the present troubles and disorders through the realm; it being ordained that their decision should be as valid and effectual as if it had been pronounced by the whole parliament. Permission was given to six of the ministers who were named, to be present at the deliberations of these judges when they had any thing to propose to them, or when they were called to a conference. * CHAP. VIII. 1593.

The judges met at Edinburgh; but, before they commenced their proceedings, offers were made from the lords to give satisfaction to the church and the King's majesty. Upon these offers James delivered a discourse, in which he pointed out the great danger of rejecting them, and thus confirmed the opinion which had been previously entertained of his prejudice in favour of Huntly and his associates. After deliberating for a few days, the strange act, denominated the act of abolition, was drawn Act of abolition. Nov. 12.

* Calderwood, p. 294, 295. Spottiswoode, p. 309. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1244.

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up and sanctioned In this act it was stated that "the King, for the public peace of the realm, and to remove all troubles and the occasions thereof, after mature deliberation and conference kept with the ministers, had, by the advice of the commissioners elected by the estates, declared, and by irrevocable edict ordained, that the true religion, established in the first year of his Majesty's reign, should be the only religion professed in the kingdom; and that none should supply or receive any Jesuits, priests, and other adversaries of religion, under the pains contained in the act of parliament: That such as have not embraced the true religion, or who have made defection from it, should conform before the first of next February, satisfy the church, and obey the orders of the King and the church; or if any of them should feel difficulty in so doing, from scruples of conscience, they should, with permission of his Majesty, depart from the realm to such parts beyond sea as the King should appoint, and not return till they were resolved to embrace the truth and satisfy the church, they and their heirs, in the mean time, enjoying their lands and other property, with power to commence legal actions before every court: That the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol, the Laird of Achindown, and Sir James Chisholm, shall not be accused of the crimes specified in the summons executed against them, on account of the blanks and letters intercepted, or on account of trafficking with foreigners

to the prejudice of the religion; but the suit shall be dropped, and neither they nor their heirs prosecuted upon these articles, it being understood, that in case they have sent, or shall hereafter send any hostages out of the realm for accomplishing any agreement tending to the overthrow of religion, in that case the abolition here granted shall be null; neither shall it be farther extended than to the crimes contained in the summons, and no way comprehend any murders, fire-raisings, or other crimes which they may have committed: That such of the said Earls and others as shall comply with the conditions enumerated in this act shall reside in the places appointed for them, and forbear all correspondence with Jesuits, priests, and Papists: That they shall neither dispute, nor permit disputing at their tables against the truth, or in favour of Popery, but retain in their houses a minister, and be ready to hear what may resolve their doubts, and prepare them for subscribing the Confession of Faith on the day fixed, unless it please the church to grant them a longer time for deliberation: That the Earls of Huntly and Errol shall banish from their company the Jesuits James Gordon and Walter Ogilvy, each of them finding surety for forty thousand pounds; that they shall abide by their subscriptions, and not again revolt from the truth, Achindown and Chisholm giving the same assurance, on pain of ten thousand pounds: That such of them as choose to leave the kingdom, and will not embrace the

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true religion, shall give assurance that they will not, when abroad, practise against the religion or government of the country; and that they will not, till their departure, associate with any of the Popish sect: That they shall declare their choice of the two conditions to the King or the church before the first of January, otherwise their trial shall go on, as if no offers had been made to them; and, lastly, that the church shall call all suspected persons before them, requiring them to satisfy, and, if they be obstinate, their names shall be given to the King and council, that they may be punished." *

This act, evidently intended to be in the highest degree favourable to the Popish lords, and giving a very singular and striking view of the state of Scotland at the time of its being passed, dissatisfied the church, was rejected by the lords themselves, and excited the indignation of Elizabeth, who considered it as calculated to strengthen the party averse to the Protestant faith, and to be favourable to the King of Spain, in whose dominions it was probable that the exiles would seek for refuge She sent Lord Zouche as her ambassador to remonstrate with James against the lenity which he had shewn,

Embassy from England.

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 326, 327. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 352—357, and printed History, p. 295—297, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 399, 400. Wodrow's MSS Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 19. Bruce, in a sermon, declared that the King's reign would be short and troublesome, if the act of abolition were not abolished. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1244, 1245. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 642.

and to expostulate upon his violation of the solemn promise which he had made to her, that he would take no step with respect to the lords without her concurrence. Zouche found some difficulty in obtaining an audience of the Scotish King, who seems to have been highly displeased with the embassy; and when he was admitted, he exasperated James by the violence with which he obeyed the instructions of his sovereign. At length, however, the King perceived the hazard of offending Elizabeth, avowed his intention of no longer sparing the Popish lords; and, as they had refused both to subscribe the articles which have been mentioned, and to surrender themselves till their trial took place, they were summoned to appear before a parliament to be held in the following May. Zouche intimated to his court, that James was now determined to proceed with the utmost vigour, and to compel the refractory nobles to submit; but that he had represented the importance of Elizabeth's restraining any attempts of Bothwell, and the necessity of her contributing a sum of money to enable him to raise forces for securing the tranquillity of his kingdom.* To these requests evasive answers were returned; and the English Queen, doubting the sincerity of James, was so far from having any intention to harass Bothwell, that she

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March 9.

* Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVI. p. 240. Calderwood, p. 298. Spottiswoode, p. 402.

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authorized her ambassadors to increase his faction. In this they were successful; and it has been falsely alleged, that a part of the ministers, looking upon him as earnest in the cause of the reformation, not only wished that he should be restored to his country, but assisted him with money, and sent Hunter, one of their number, to attend him as chaplain. *

Bothwell again makes an attempt upon the King. April 2.

A short time after this, amidst the joy diffused by the birth of the amiable and accomplished Henry, the eldest son of James, the court and the nation were alarmed by another daring attempt that turbulent nobleman. Having collected a disorderly band of about four hundred cavalry, h early in the morning, entered Leith, hoping seize the King, who was then in Edinburgh, wi only a few attendants. He no sooner heard, ho

* MS. Life of James Melvil. He vindicates himself from bei friendly to Bothwell,—shews the falsehood of the aspersion that he had given him money, and explains what gave rise to it, p. 328. Hunter went of his own accord, and was afterwards punished by the General Assembly. Spottiswoode, p. 402, compared with Calderwood, p. 299, who vindicates the two Melvils, both of whom had been charged with attachment to Bothwell. See his MS. Hist. Vol. IV. under this year. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 58, and Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 72. But although the ministers must be acquitted of actively supporting Bothwell, they certainly were inclined to be indulgent to him. Bruce about this time said from the pulpit, "that Bothwell had taken the protection of the good cause, at least the pretence to this, to the King's shame." Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce p. 19.

ever, that Bothwell was so near, than he called on the citizens to arm in his defence; and Lord Hume, who had that morning arrived, was instantly sent out of the city at the head of the horse, whilst James prepared to follow with the infantry who had hastened to his standard. Bothwell, aware of the opposition which he would have to encounter, attacked Lord Hume, to whom he was much superior in cavalry, and put him to flight. The attendants of the King, alarmed for his safety, urged him to retire; but he refused to leave the field to traitors, and kept his ground. Had Bothwell acted with less precipitation,—had he immediately after routing Hume attempted to secure the King, he might have succeeded; but, pursuing with unguarded speed, his horse stumbled, and he received a fall, which disabled him from farther exertion. He retired to Dalkeith, and having next morning dispersed his forces, he privately retired to the fastnesses in which he had so often found protection. *

James sends ambassadors to Elizabeth.

Thus happily once more delivered from the traiterous attacks of Bothwell, James, who had no doubt that his last attempt was instigated by Elizabeth and her agents, dispatched Lord Colvil, and

* MSS. Life of James Melvil, p. 328. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 58. Spottiswoode, p. 402, 403. Calderwood, p. 298, 299, in his account says, that the King fled; but this is contradicted by other writers. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1249, 1250.

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Bruce, commendator of Kinloss, with letters to the Queen, in which he did not conceal how much he had been irritated by the conduct of Lord Zouche; expressed his astonishment that she should harbour Bothwell; and, dexterously insinuating that this could not be done with her consent, lamented that a sovereign, who had reigned so long and so gloriously, should not be secure against her subjects presuming to do what was inconsistent with her honour. The ambassadors were also instructed to inform her, that, as the Popish lords had not embraced the conditions which had been offered to them, he should shew them no more indulgence; and again to ask that she would, by a supply of money, enable him either to banish them from his kingdom, or to bring them to justice. Elizabeth, making some excuse for what had happened, assured him that she should no longer afford Bothwell an asylum, and that she should contribute every thing in her power that he might proceed with effect against the rebels. James was so gratified with this reply, particularly with her promise of renouncing Bothwell, which she faithfully kept, that he solicited her countenance at the baptism of his son; and, aware how much she might disturb his government, and of the folly of blasting, by irritating her, his prospect of succeeding to her throne, he became from this period much inclined

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to be guided by her counsel, and desirous to obtain her favour.*

1594. General Assembly. May 7.

The General Assembly which met about the commencement of summer, and soon after the discomfiture of Bothwell, with much interest directed its attention to the state of the kingdom. Considering the extinction of the Popish faction as essential to the continuance of all the blessings which they valued, the members inserted in the minutes of this judicatory the steps which had been taken against the prevalence of Popery; recording, with high approbation, the exertions of the ministers to effectuate so desirable an object. The sentence of excommunication which the synod of Fife had pronounced against the lords was confirmed, and all pastors were ordained to intimate it, expunging, however, the name of Lord Hume, who had satisfied the church by his profession of the Protestant religion. Trembling under the apprehension that the dark cabals which had been partially brought to light had not been completely counteracted,—believing that the danger, (the reality of which all had admitted,) was nearly as formidable as when it first astonished and alarmed the nation,—and suspicious of the sincerity of the King in his declarations against Huntly, and those who followed the measures of that infatuated nobleman,—they stated the

* Spottiswoode, p. 403. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1250. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 156.

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evils which they dreaded, and, in an address to their Sovereign, pointed out the means by which these evils might be averted. To this address he replied, that nothing should be left undone by him which it was in his power to do; that he would adopt the precautions which had been suggested, only objecting to one clause in the paper of the Assembly, which seemed to sanction the dangerous practice of taking arms without his consent; and having thus endeavoured to satisfy them, he considered himself as entitled to demand, that they should comply with what he conceived requisite for the security of the government, and the tranquillity of the kingdom. He accordingly required by his commissioners, that, in appointing the meeting of next Assembly, regard should be had to his prerogative, as declared by act of parliament; that they would adhere to their resolution respecting the impropriety of speaking irreverently in the pulpit of his Majesty, and would particularly censure John Ross, who had been guilty of this disrespect; that they would excommunicate Andrew Hunter, for bringing a scandal upon their profession, as the first open traitor of their function against a Christian King of their own religion, and their native Sovereign; that they would enjoin all ministers to dissuade their congregations from concurring with the treasonable attempts of Bothwell, or other traitors, taking heed that none of them were seduced under pretence of religion, or any other pretence, to be-

come soldiers to any who had not his Majesty's commission, particularly to Bothwell; and that, as the parliament was approaching, they would send some of their number to confer with him, and assist him with their counsel. With these reasonable demands the Assembly complied, renewing the act passed at Dundee against licentiousness of political discussion in the pulpit, censuring Ross, deposing Hunter, who had joined Bothwell, charging all their people to refrain from following him, or any other traitor who should rise against the King's authority, and appointing some of the clergy to wait upon his Majesty. *

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* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 440—460. In the proceedings of this Assembly, p. 446, is mentioned a singular superstition prevailing in Garioch, of setting aside a certain portion of every farm to the devil. "Anent ye horrible superstition which prevailed in Garioch, and dyvers pairts of ye cuntrie, in not laboring a parcel of ground dedicat to ye devill, under ye name of ye Guidman's Crofte; the kirk, for remedie yrof, hes found meit, yat ane article be formit to ye parliat. yat ane act may proceid from ye estattes yrof, ordayning all persons possessors of the saides landes, to cause labour ye samyn betwix and a certaine day to be appointit yrto; utherwayes in caise of disobedience, the said landes to fall in ye Kingis handis, to be disponit to sick personis as pleisis his Maj. quha will labor ye samyn." This practice seems to be a vestige of that superstitious dread of an evil power, and of that anxiety to turn aside, by offerings, its malice, which has been wonderfully disseminated amongst savage nations, and which, if I recollect, was found by navigators to prevail amongst the inhabitants of the islands in the Pacific Ocean. MSS. Life of James Melvil, p. 328—330. Row's MS. p. 57, 58. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. p. 372—390, and printed History, p. 300—305. Spottiswoode has given a very imperfect and uncandid account of the answers returned to the King's requests, p. 404, 405.

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The King, eager to direct the popular indignation against Bothwell, sometime after the Assembly addressed a memorial to the ministers of Edinburgh, enjoining them not only to intimate to their own congregations his determined purpose to pursue by law and arms this nobleman, with his adherents, and also the lords and other Papists, but to transmit this his purpose to all presbyteries, and more particularly to the synod of Fife, some of the members of which were suspected falsely, as has been already proved, of having aided the rebels. The answer of the ministers clearly shewed, that they were much more intent upon the punishment of Huntly, and those of his faction, than upon vigorous proceedings against the King's own rebels, as they denominated Bothwell and his followers, and there is even an ambiguity in the manner in which they allude to their obligation to declare against him, which evinces that they regarded him as the determined enemy of Popery. *

Parliament. June 8.

Parliament met in the beginning of June, and, although it was not numerously attended, private feelings leading numbers to shrink from an act of painful public duty, Huntly, Errol, Angus, the Laird of Achindown, and Sir James Chisholm, with many who adhered to them, were after some deliberation declared to have been guilty of treason;

* Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVI. p. 248, and former references with respect to Bothwell.

sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against the three earls and Achindown, their armorial bearings were torn by a herald, and it was agreed that they should lose all title to their estates and their honours. At this parliament, severe acts were passed against Papists; extensive powers were committed to presbyteries for prosecuting them; and, to give efficacy to religious instruction, an act was framed for the better observance of the Sabbath, which continued to be violated with an indecency, which, in the present age, would be regarded with abhorrence. * 1594.

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. IV. under 1594, and History, p. 305, 306. Spottiswoode, p. 405, 406. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Melvil, p. 58, 59. Melvil displayed upon this occasion the warm and blunt zeal with which he ever defended the reformation. Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 335. A number of salutary laws were made at this parliament, presenting, in their perspicuity and conciseness, a remarkable contrast to the diffuse, obscure, and indeed often unintelligible acts, which, to the serious inconvenience of all classes of men, now proceed from our more enlightened legislature. This is an abuse which calls loudly for reformation. Wodrow in several of his lives, gives a melancholy view of the barbarous state of Scotland, and of the profaneness which abounded at the period of which I now write, adducing in support of his representation many facts which render incredulity impossible. With respect to the Lord's day, comparatively few paid to it any attention, secular occupations were commonly followed, or they were superseded by riotous amusement. There were instances even of ministers countenancing this, and going with their people on the Sunday evenings "to the bow-butts, and the sinful exercise of shooting with bow and arrow." There is in the mass of the community now more religion than existed then.

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1594. Conduct of the Popish Lords.

Huntly and his party were not intimidated by the proceedings of Parliament, but, having obtained a supply of money from Spain, they resolved to harass government, and to maintain Huntly's ascendancy in the northern parts of Scotland.* Soon after the dissolution of the meeting of the estates, his uncle and several foreigners arrived off Aberdeen, and the people of the town, highly irritated at the rebels, seized the vessel, and carried the passengers to prison. Huntly and the other lords hastened to rescue them, and threatened to burn the town, if they were not instantly set at liberty. The magistrates paid to this arrogance no attention, but when they saw the lords collecting a considerable number of troops, and preparing to carry their threats into execution, finding resistance vain, they yielded to the demands which they had the strongest inclination to resist. †

July 19.

Measures taken against them.

The account of this bold step irritated the King, and he immediately announced his resolution to subdue men who had now so decisively manifested the desperate nature of the schemes which they had formed. He commanded the Earl of Argyll, a young nobleman, whose want of experience disqualified him for conducting an enterprise upon

* Spottiswoode, p. 407.

† Rymer in his Foedera, Vol. XVI. has inserted a letter to the Magistrates of Aberdeen, signed by Angus, Huntly, Errol, and Achindown. See also Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 164.

which so much might have depended, to keep Huntly in check, till the arrival of the royal army; but so little alacrity for this service was shewn by Argyll, that the interference of some of the ministers was necessary for prevailing upon him to take the field. At length, however, with a considerable body of Highlanders, he marched against the Popish lords, who, informed of his approach, and that he would soon be powerfully reinforced, instantly attacked his army. Although he exceeded them in numbers, he was assailed with the firmest intrepidity, and the Highlanders having fled, the enemy were victorious, Argyll, after losing several hundred men, ordering a retreat. In the battle, the laird of Achindown was slain, and many of the gentlemen who supported the Popish faction were wounded. *

1594.

Battle of Glenlivet. Oct. 3.

This momentary triumph did not avail the cause of the Lords. The King, who heard at Dundee of what had happened, pushed forward, and arrived at Aberdeen soon after the battle was fought. The Earls were not able to oppose him, and having fled to Sutherland, their houses in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen were seized and demolished. Despairing of success, they implored permission to leave the kingdom, pledging themselves

Oct. 18.

* Spottiswoode, p. 407, 408. Calderwood, p. 806. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 19. He is dissatisfied with Spottiswoode's account, but has nothing to urge against it. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1258, 1259.

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not to return without his Majesty's consent, and engaging, that, while they were abroad, they would not engage in any scheme against the church or state. The King still was inclined to be lenient, and knowing that, if the ministers should become so powerful as to shackle his government, he might depend upon the assistance of the Popish lords, he complied, and tranquillity was for a short time restored to Scotland. *

The ministers beheld, with the highest satisfaction, the events which had recently taken place. Although they would have preferred that severe proceeding against the Popish lords which sound policy and religious zeal then equally dictated, yet the banishment of these men removed one great source of uneasiness, and they anticipated the free exercise of their ecclesiastical powers, and the full vigour of their ecclesiastical polity. They soon, however, began to dread that new enemies were rising against them, and the strange conduct of the King reviving, in all their strength, the apprehensions of Popery, drove them to act with a violence which injured their cause, and enabled him to make innovations, from which, had no constraint been imposed, they would have unanimously revolted, as contaminating the purity of the church. †

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 331—333. Spottiswoode, p. 409. Calderwood, p. 307.

† Calderwood's History, p. 311.

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The death of Lord Thirlstane, the chancellor, laid the foundation for a change in the administration of government, by which both the state and the clergy were materially affected. This able and faithful minister had, after his return to court, from the desire of not again offending the Queen, entered into a scheme which she had formed, of taking her son, Prince Henry, from the Earl of Marr, to whose guardianship he had been committed, and of bringing him to the castle of Edinburgh, where he might remain under her own eye. When the King heard of this plan he was highly displeased, and, having convinced the Queen of its impropriety, he not only severely reprimanded the chancellor and the other courtiers who had been accessory to it, but he wrote to Marr, expressing his confidence in his fidelity, in terms so gratifying to that nobleman, as to mortify those who had rendered the expression necessary. Maitland withdrew from court, and, either from the vexation of mind which this occasioned, or from accidental infection, he contracted a dangerous illness, which he was convinced would prove fatal. Under this impression he wrote to the King, explaining the part which he had acted with regard to the Prince, solemnly declaring that he had ever been attached to the interests of his sovereign, and praying, that, in the event of his dissolution, James would protect his wife and children. This communication extinguished the King's displeasure, and renewed the attachment which he

1595. Death of the chancellor. 3d Oct.

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long had to the chancellor. He immediately wrote to him a most affectionate letter, in which he sincerely lamented his illness, but assured him, that if, contrary to his hope, it should cut him off, he would make to his wife and to his children a "lively representation of his gratitude." The letter does equal honour to the King and the chancellor. It could not fail to comfort Maitland under the pressure of sickness; it removed that anxiety about those who were most dear to him, which, from his having many enemies, it was natural to feel; and it enabled him to fix his undistracted attention on the solemn event which awaited him. His death, which soon took place, was lamented by the friends of the church; for although he had, in the earlier period of his political life, proposed measures which were highly offensive to the zealous supporters of Presbytery, he at length, either from being convinced that sound policy dictated the change, or from his desire to strengthen himself against Bothwell, whom he always dreaded, espoused their cause, and powerfully contributed, as we found, to the passing of the memorable act that decided the triumph over the episcopal polity. *

* Spottiswoode, p. 410, 411. He has recorded the particulars of the chancellor's illness and death, with the epitaph written upon him by the King. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil. p. 60. Melvil wrote an epitaph, shewing with what feelings he regarded the death of that nobleman. One line is,

"Quo duce tanta fuit pax foris atque domi."

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1596. Octavians.

The indolence which marked the latter years of James, began to manifest itself at an early period of his life. His revenues had, from extravagance or mismanagement, become more and more embarrassed, and, unable or unwilling to extricate them from confusion, he, soon after the chancellor's death, chose eight persons to act as commissioners of his exchequer, who, on account of their number, received the appellation of Octavians. To these men he intrusted such powers, that he left to himself only the shadow of sovereignty, for though he exacted from them an oath, that, in all their proceedings they would consult his interest and his honour, he came under an obligation to make no grant without their consent, to add none to their number, and, in the event of a vacancy, to leave to themselves the nomination of the successor. When their commission was published, the inhabitants of Edinburgh were filled with astonishment at the infatuation of the King, and the clergy, who knew that some of the persons named, were suspected of attachment to popery, or had evinced that attachment, dreaded that they would employ their vast influence in restraining the privileges and impairing the liberties of the church.*

Jan. 12.

Mackenzie's Lives, Vol. III. p. 418—423. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 150—152. Calderwood, p. 310, after mentioning his services, adds, it was thought by sundry that all the good he did was to win the ministry to strengthen him against Bothwell. See also MS. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 440.

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 344. Row's MS. History, p. 63.

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1596. Rumour of a Spanish invasion.

Towards the conclusion of the former year, a rumour had been circulated and extensively believed, that the King of Spain intended to make another effort to conquer England. Upon this occasion James published a manifesto, calling upon his

Jan. 2.

subjects to be ready to oppose the scheme; and, to prevent them from imagining that in the fate of the southern part of the island they had little concern, he thus strongly expressed the nature of the danger with which they were threatened: "Should the Spaniards now prosper, what danger would thence accrue to this kingdom, every unprejudiced Scotsman may foretel. So great a monarch addicted to arms, and patronizing that bloody and tyrannical religion, the direct opposite of that truth which we by God's indulgence profess, could not become our nearest neighbour, undivided by seas or any other impediment, without the certain hazard of our utter thraldom both in soul and body, the subversion of the crown, and the reducing the whole people, so long free, to perpetual servitude, the unavoidable fate of all the countries Philip has conquered by his arms."*

This language, just as it is impressive, was in harmony with the opinions of the nation—with

Spottiswoode, p. 211, 212, has recorded the tenor of the commission granted to the Octavians. Calderwood, p. 912, and MSS. Vol. V. p. 8. Baillie's Historical Vindication of the government of the Church of Scotland, p. 18.

† Rymer's Foedera, Vol. VI. p. 286, 287. A summary of the proclamation may be seen in Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 164.

those opinions which the clergy had strenuously inculcated, and to which, with a consistency often forgotten or disregarded by the monarch, they firmly and conscientiously adhered. In the memorable Assembly which, soon after this appeal had been made to the kingdom, met in Edinburgh, the subject to which it related afforded ground for the most serious and important deliberation. The ministers, as has been already mentioned, considered the terms which had been granted to the exiled lords not only as too lenient, but as inconsistent with the great objects which government should, in their estimation, have steadily contemplated. This sentiment had, during the period which elapsed from these lords being banished, been strengthened by various causes, which produced conviction that the King was less attached to the church than he had professed to be, and that he was secretly anxious to receive and to pardon the men who had conspired to subvert his throne. When, therefore, the state of the kingdom engaged their attention, the members of Assembly embraced the opportunity of stating how cordially they would join in resisting every attempt of Spain, and of pointing out to the King the most effectual manner in which he might secure his dominions from the evils which he had in his proclamation so feelingly delineated. After much discussion, they submitted to him what they denominated the griefs of the church, and the remedies which they thought should be

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adopted. They earnestly craved, that the lands of the forfeited rebels should be appropriated for defending the kingdom against the enemies by whom it was threatened, and that all Jesuits, and persons influenced by them, should be apprehended and punished. The proposal respecting the property of the exiled lords had been mentioned to the King when he was present in the Assembly; and Andrew Melvil, with much vehemence, had remonstrated against the arrangements with regard to that property, which had, as he contended, been unlawfully made; but James had no intention of complying with this wish of the church, for he was already firmly determined to attempt the restoration of Huntly and his associates. This was known to the ministers, and it in part accounts for some very singular steps which were taken. Believing that they could not expect the co-operation of government in that complete extirpation of the Popish faction, which they judged essential both to civil and religious freedom, they resolved to trust to their influence over the minds of the people. Afraid that the ardent zeal which they had once excited might become weak, they conceived it necessary to give it a new impulse, by renewing the covenant, and by enjoining the clergy throughout the kingdom to do so likewise; whilst, by the most solemn professions of anxiety to reform all classes of men, and to promote their spiritual edification, they deeply impressed upon those by whom they were revered, that, if the most

decisive conduct was not followed, all which had been hitherto done to produce and to secure the Reformation would prove totally unavailing. Having appointed commissioners to enumerate the corruptions of the ministry, and to suggest in what manner these might be removed, a report upon this subject was presented, in consequence of which it was required, that all faithful pastors should seriously examine into the motives by which they had been influenced in entering upon the sacred office; should devote themselves to the studies calculated to render their labours useful; should carefully ascertain the state of those who wished to partake of the sacrament; and should, with the sessions over which they presided, exercise ecclesiastical discipline, not only in cases of enormous wickedness, but even where slight deviations from the strictness of Christian duty had been discerned. In their own deportment, they were to avoid every approach to levity of behaviour, to gaiety of apparel, or to those practices which, however common in private life, did not correspond with the gravity of a pastor; and such of them as should be guilty of profaning the Sabbath, of intemperance, or of profaneness of discourse, were to be immediately deposed. They were cautioned against engaging in secular employments, which might distract their attention from the important duties which they had to perform; they were required, under pain of censure, to reside in their parishes, and to embrace every

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opportunity, even in company, of promoting, by their conversation, the sacred cause of religion, and the edification of those who looked to them for instruction. After they had thus pointed out what were the errors, and what should be the conduct of pastors, they assembled, as they had agreed, to renew the covenant, by which they pledged themselves never to forsake what they had sworn to defend. Having met in one of the churches, they were exhorted to have recourse to private meditation and prayer; they humbled themselves in the sight of God,—they became deeply agitated,—they then listened to a sermon adapted to the occasion of their meeting,—and, before they dismissed, holding up their hands, and calling on the name of God, they bound themselves, as he should enable them, to walk in the profession of the truth.

But they did not confine their attention to the clerical order. They pointed out the abuses and enormities which prevailed amongst all classes, from the sovereign to the meanest of the people; thus representing that the sins of the nation were the cause of its being threatened with calamity, and that these sins must be abandoned before they could hope for the blessing and favour of heaven. In all this they followed the conviction of their own minds; but it cannot be doubted, that they thus most effectually brought home to the feelings of men what they had to fear, and inclined them to venerate their teachers, as the patriotic defenders of all which, as

members of political society, and as Christians, they should hold in estimation. Before the conclusion of the Assembly, a number of ministers were appointed to wait constantly upon the court, and to watch the measures of government; and the reason assigned for this extraordinary appointment was the continual diligence of their enemies, especially when they discerned any slackness in the church, with respect to the discovery and resistance of their enterprises. It will soon appear, that what was thus designed to guard the ecclesiastical polity, led to consequences very different from those which had been confidently anticipated. *

Scheme of provision for ministers.

In addition to the dangers which threatened the existence or the liberty of the church and the state, the clergy had to lament evils which immediately affected themselves, and which were severely felt by them in the common intercourse of life. Although the Presbyterian discipline had been completed and sanctioned, little had been done for exempting the ministers from the poverty to which, by the dilapidation of the patrimony of the church at

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 474—492. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 380—384 Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 9—32; 47—49, and printed History, p. 312—323. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 60—63; of Davidson, p. 30, 31; and of Robert Pont, p. 22. 23. Row's MS. p. 61. Calderwood concludes his full account of this Assembly, with this remark, "Here end the sincere General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland." Compare with the above, Spottiswoode, p. 415, 416, and Collier, Vol. II. p. 648.

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the Reformation, they had been reduced. For want of the means of support, many parts of the kingdom were destitute of religious instructors, and the stipends which were received by resident pastors were so small, as to render the most rigid economy necessary for supporting themselves and their families. These stipends, too, in place of being fixed and paid in the parishes of the incumbents, were every year altered at the caprice of the modifiers, and had to be drawn from remote parts of the country, which was attended with much difficulty, and much expence. In the parliament which confirmed the Presbyterian establishment, a commission had indeed been given to certain noblemen and members of the council on the one hand, and to several ministers on the other, to provide a remedy for these grievances, so intolerable to the pastors, and so hazardous to the government, and the lords of the Exchequer were commanded to assist with their advice; but nothing had been effected, and complaints were made upon this subject, at every Assembly, and were perhaps sometimes conveyed from the pulpit. The King, at the last Assembly, had ordered his commissioners to represent, that he heard that some ministers led the people to believe that he and his council interposed obstacles to the plantation of churches, and to assure the clergy, that, so far from this being the case, he was desirous that stipends should be augmented, and the number of ministers increased; and that he

would order persons deputed by him to meet with the representatives of the Assembly, to make arrangements for carrying his scheme into execution. Lindsay of Balcarras, one of the Octavians who had paid to the subject much attention, proposed a plan, which was thought the best that had yet been suggested. The revenue of the church having been much impaired by annexations to the crown; by the erection of church lands into temporal lordships; by the iniquitous practice of granting long leases of tithes for an elusory payment; by pensions, and by the manner in which that portion of the thirds pertaining to the crown had been alienated,—he proposed, as the only method of providing comfortably for the clergy, that all tithes should be declared to be the patrimony of the church, that the lords of the Exchequer, with such ministers as should be appointed by the Assembly, being equal in number to the lords, should modify and assign, from certain bounds in every parish, a quantity of victual, and other duties of vicarage, with a manse and glebe, as a local stipend to each church, in whatever manner the teinds might have been previously granted or enjoyed; that the commissioners should have power to unite or disjoin parishes, with consent of the parishioners; and that the assignations made by them should be valid, giving full power to the ministers, in a summary way, to collect what belonged to their benefices. He then laid down a method for the valuation of tithes, so

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as to prevent all farther dilapidation; and he recommended that, this having been accurately done, an estimate should be made of the amount of the whole tithes; and that what remained, after paying the stipends, should be employed for upholding schools, for sustaining the poor, and for other godly uses, the title, however, to the whole being vested in the ministers, who were to account for the surplus to persons nominated for receiving it.

This scheme, by distributing all the teinds, for the temporal estates of the church had been previously and for ever wrested from it, left nothing for the support of prelates,—thus following out the act of parliament abolishing that order, and effectually preventing its restoration in the form in which it had once existed. But as one of the estates of parliament was thus destroyed, and as a spiritual estate was judged requisite for preserving the entire fabric of the political constitution, Lindsay concluded by a proposition, that, in time coming, every presbytery should send, from its own members, a commissioner to parliament,—that from the commissioners so returned the two other orders should choose as many as, joined with the surviving possessors of prelacies, should compose a number equal to that of any of the other estates; and that, after the decease of the titular bishops, the whole of the representatives of the church should be taken from the commissioners elected by presbyteries, the persons

chosen having the same rights and privileges in parliament as had been possessed by the prelates. CHAP. VIII. 1596.

In this scheme there is much which is excellent. It was admirably calculated to secure the clergy from the horrors of want,—it relieved them from the anxiety and trouble to which, by the former mode of paying their stipends, they had been subjected,—whilst it most equitably, in the best way of representation, gave them that voice in the great council of the nation to which, by practice, by law, and in justice they were entitled, but of which they were unfortunately, through their own mistaken views, afterwards deprived. Had the scheme been maturely weighed, some alterations and improvements would no doubt have been suggested; but it was, in general, acceptable to the ministers, and it would, in all probability, have been carried into effect, had not the events which soon took place made a material change in the civil and ecclesiastical state of the kingdom. *

Resolution to restore the exiled lords.

The King, and the courtiers who now directed him, persisted in the resolution of restoring the Popish lords to their country, upon condition of their satisfying the church; and James, unaccount-

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 345—360. He has given a copy of the new and constant plat, and says, that, with some alterations, it would have been gladly received. Calderwood has given a very clear and interesting account of it in his History, p. 325—328. See also the proceedings of last Assembly, in Buik of the Universal Kirk, and Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 82—45.

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ably eager in accomplishing this object, endeavoured, through Robert Bruce, whom he still highly respected, to obtain for it the sanction of the clergy. He represented to Bruce the great importance of uniting all classes of his subjects; he stated, that, as the Queen of England was far advanced in life, their assistance might soon be required for establishing his claim of succession to the English throne; and that, whilst so many of the nobles were exiled, he was both less powerful, and would be held in less estimation by foreign princes,—inferring from these grounds, that, if the banished lords could be induced to embrace the true religion, which was essential for gaining his countenance, they should be recalled. Bruce, who was asked freely to give his opinion, frankly said, that he thought his Majesty's reasons had great weight, and that it might not be improper to bring home Angus and Errol, but that all idea of restoring Huntly, who, by the whole of his conduct, had rendered himself odious, should be abandoned. The King expressed his earnest wish that Huntly, both on account of his connection by marriage with himself, and of his being able to assist him, should not be excluded from indulgence, and asked Bruce to reflect for some days upon this matter, and then communicate what he thought. At the next interview with the sovereign, he adhered to his former sentiment, and when James said, If I bring home one I will bring home all; he firmly replied, I see your resolution is to take Huntly

into favour, which, if you do, I will oppose. The King was filled with indignation at this answer, and became altogether alienated from the upright adviser by whom it was given.* CHAP. VIII. 1596.

The exiled lords, finding that in foreign countries they did not meet with the attention and the respect which they had hoped to receive, and knowing that the King was not disposed to be inexorable, formed the resolution of returning to Scotland, and of making every concession to turn aside the enmity of the church. They succeeded in reaching their native country; and Huntly, who concealed himself in the most inaccessible districts of the The lords privately return.

* Spottiswoode, p. 426, 427. Wodrow in his Life of Bruce, MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 20, expresses his conviction, that the conversation above quoted from Spottiswoode never took place, and he supports this opinion by endeavouring to shew that the speech was inconsistent with Bruce's character and intelligence. Such reasoning, however, must be admitted with much caution, when employed to invalidate the positive testimony of an intelligent and well-informed writer. Baillie, in his Historical Vindication, p. 30—32, with more plausibility, supposes that the substance of the conversation is accurate, but some of the expressions exaggerated. It is not uncommon in Wodrow, and some zealous presbyterian writers, flatly to contradict the assertions of Spottiswoode upon vague grounds, and often upon no ground at all. It cannot be denied, that the Archbishop's partiality to episcopacy has, particularly in the latter part of his history, destroyed his candour, and led him to extenuate, or to conceal, what he should have fairly stated; but nothing can be more improbable, than that he would assert, as facts, what he knew never took place. The leading events of the times to which his work relates were generally known, and he could not fail to be sensible, that the attempt to support his cause by falsehood would injure it, and ruin himself in the estimation of his contemporaries.

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northern part of the kingdom, watched an opportunity of attempting the restoration of himself, and of the other noblemen who were united with him. He soon was informed of the King's determination to summon a convention at Falkland, for considering the policy to be adopted towards his rebellious subjects; and he addressed a supplication to James and those who attended him, praying that he might be permitted to return, and offering not only to live in any place which should be assigned to him, but to give surety for his quiet and peaceable deportment. The King immediately shewed how much he was inclined to comply with a petition, which he should, with the utmost caution, have considered. He declared to the members of the convention, that they must either determine to exterminate the lords, their race, and their posterity, or to receive them, upon conditions, into favour; that the former of these modes was attended with many difficulties; and that, although he did not approve of the general supplication which Huntly had obtained means to present, yet he was of opinion, that if the interests of the kingdom and of religion could be secured, the latter mode ought to be adopted. Andrew Melvil, who, as one of the commissioners appointed by the church, had, without being summoned, attended those of the ministers who had been invited to the convention, although reproved for his intrusion, boldly stated sentiments in direct opposition to those of the sovereign,—warned the persons whom he ad-

A convention at Falkland. August.

dressed against calling home and enrolling amongst the number of faithful subjects, men who had sought to betray their country to the cruel Spaniard, and to overthrow Christ's kingdom,—and, in the forcible impetuous language which he had learnt from the first reformers, he accused all who should support the measure which he reprobated, of treason to Christ, to his church, and to the country. He was by the King ordered to withdraw, which he did, exulting that he had spoken the truth; and the proposal of the sovereign having been adopted, the terms upon which the lords should be pardoned were appointed to be arranged. This resolution, deciding the momentous question in favour of the Popish party, was soon after confirmed by another convention, which met at Dunfermline. *

Violent measures of the clergy in consequence of the resolution.

The ministers no sooner heard of the decision for recalling the exiled lords, than they expressed the abhorrence with which they regarded it; and the commissioners appointed by the last Assembly having met at Cupar, sent a deputation to remonstrate with the King. This remonstrance having proved unavailing, they appointed some of their number, from all parts of the kingdom, to meet in Edinburgh with the presbytery of that city, and to take

September.

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 385, 386. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of David Black, p. 9, 10. Spottiswoode, p. 417, compared with Calderwood, p. 328. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1268. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 649.

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care that the church received no injury. The most zealous of the ministry obeyed the appointment, and having assembled, they instantly began to act with all the energy and decision which could have been used had they constituted a regular branch of the executive government. Proceeding upon the principle that the liberty and the religion of their country were exposed to imminent danger, and that it was the duty of all good men to combine against the enemies who threatened their destruction, they addressed a circular letter to the presbyteries of Scotland, that the same spirit by which they themselves were actuated might be conveyed throughout the kingdom. In this letter, clothed in the most glowing expression, and admirably adapted to rouse and affect men, who, by having lately renewed the covenant, were prepared to expect and to encounter the most formidable evils, having informed their brethren that the near approach of those dangers which had long threatened religion, had led them to enter into deep consideration of these dangers and of the remedies to be applied, they announced to them the return of the Popish lords without the King's permission, from which they inferred, that these lords had a powerful faction within the country, or that they hoped to be assisted by foreign auxiliaries,—they mentioned, that the lords were permitted to make unceasing application to the King, the Queen, and the council, for liberty to reside in the kingdom,—they detailed

what had been done at Falkland and Dunfermline, and, enumerating all the calamities which the former conduct of this faction had brought upon Scotland, they concluded this part of the letter by affirming, that similar evils were still to be apprehended. Having thus sounded the alarm, they enjoined all presbyteries to co-operate with their brethren in Edinburgh, by publicly and privately stirring up the people to resist, by all lawful means, policy so ruinous; they appointed a season of public humiliation, on account of the return of the lords, and the state of religion; they ordered that the sentence of excommunication against Huntly, and the rest of his party, should again be read in every church, and they informed them that a select number of commissioners, who afterwards assumed the unconstitutional title of the Council for the Church, were daily to meet in Edinburgh, to consult upon what was expedient, the expences incurred being defrayed by the part of the country which they represented. * CHAP. VIII. 1596.

The convention having dissolved, the council appointed by them assembled, and, guided by the same spirit which their constituents had displayed, they ordered Seaton, one of the Octavians, and President of the Court of Session, to appear before the Synod of Lothian, and to answer to that judicatory Nov. 2.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of David Black, p. 9, 10. Calderwood's History, p. 330—332, and MSS. Vol. V. p. 54, and 58—63.

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for his conduct, in having favoured the recal of the Earl of Huntly. This arbitrary mandate the Lords of Session determined to resist. They sent one of the clerks of their Court, attended by two advocates, to represent its illegality; and the ministers seem to have paid some regard to this opinion, for they agreed not to enforce the mandate, if the President would voluntarily do what they had required. To this he consented; but, being referred by the synod to the council of the church, he, before those of whom it was constituted, cleared himself of having had any connection with Huntly. * The King, indolent as he was, beheld, with indignation, what was not only so opposite to his high notions of the sovereign power, but to the existence of any well-regulated government; yet, unwilling to irritate men who had gained the affections of the people, and who had a strong plea in justification of their measures, he condescended to negotiate with them, trusting that he would satisfy them that no danger to religion could reasonably be dreaded. He proposed to them, that neither the excommunicated earls, nor any other in the same situation, should receive from him countenance and support, till they had satisfied the church; and he then asked their opinion, whether, if that satisfaction were given, he

* Calderwood, p. 333, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 418. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I folio, in Life of Black, p. 10, 11. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 353. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 63.

might grant indulgence or pardon? To this communication the ecclesiastical council replied, that the Popish lords should be put out of the country before any attention was paid to their offers to make satisfaction; but they added the severe judgment, that these men having, by the law of God, and the sentence of parliament, been condemned to death, the King could not, contrary to God's word, and the decision of the estates, shew them favour. * CHAP. VIII. 1596. Nov.

When this was reported to James, he could not conceal his displeasure; in every place he inveighed against the ministers, expressing himself in such strong language of disapprobation, that some of the wisest of the clergy, suggested the propriety of sending a deputation to solicit that he would point out by what part of their conduct he had been offended. This the council agreed to do, but they Nov. 9. embraced the opportunity of stating the grounds upon which the church complained of the sovereign. James, not soothed by this ungracious mode of approaching him, resolutely answered, that there Nov. 11. could be no agreement between him and the ministers, till the limits of their respective jurisdictions were clearly defined, and he required, as the conditions of his being reconciled, that in preaching they should not speak of state affairs; that they should not convoke General Assemblies without his special

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 386—389. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I, folio, p. 11. Spottiswoode, p. 418. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 649.

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command; that nothing done by these assemblies should be considered as having any force, without his ratification; and that synods, presbyteries, and sessions, should not, upon the plea of scandal, pronounce sentence upon what properly fell under the cognizance of the civil magistrate. Against their complaints, which chiefly related to the countenance given to the Popish lords, and others of the same faith, and to the severe censures of the ministers and their doctrine which in his common conversation he pronounced, he defended himself more unambiguously than he had been accustomed to do, imputing the manner in which he spoke of the preachers to their never ceasing in their sermons to provoke him, and to lower him in the estimation of his people. His answers were far from satisfying those to whom they were addressed. They affirmed, that these answers rendered it evident, that the overthrow of the liberty of Christ's kingdom was intended; they ordered all the acts of the council, and the parliament, securing the liberty of the church to be collected, and they warned presbyteries of the danger to which they were now exposed. The ministers, who had carried on the correspondence with the King, were instructed to receive such articles as he might communicate, but they were prohibited to reason upon them, till the ecclesiastical council had considered them, lest in an unguarded moment they might make concessions

injurious to those high pretensions which the ministers were determined to assert. *

1596. Case of Black.

From the commencement of the proceedings which have been detailed, it was apparent to all parties, that the extent of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction was now at issue; and the King, with the advice of his council, selected a particular case, that he might fully ascertain and clearly determine how far he could control the freedom of the clergy in political discussion. David Black, one of the ministers of St Andrews, had, in a sermon delivered a short time before this period, spoken in the most improper manner of the King, the Queen, and the Lords of the Council and Session; and had concluded his intemperate oration, by branding the English queen as an atheist, or a woman of no religion. As Black was held in high estimation by the people, and the English ambassador had complained of the insult offered to his sovereign, Black was summoned to appear before the privy-council. † His brethren at Edinburgh, upon the ground that this step was intended against the free preaching of the gospel, resolved that he should decline,

October.

* Wodrow's MS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of David Black, p. 12—15. Calderwood, p. 334, 335. Spottiswoode, p. 419.

† Black had, the year before, been summoned before the council for certain offensive expressions in a sermon; but the King, chiefly influenced by James Melvil, whom he at this time highly esteemed, did not listen to the accusation. MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 337, and Wodrow's Life of Black, p. 3—7.

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by a formal deed, the jurisdiction of the King and council; and that this deed should be subscribed by all the clergy in Edinburgh. Black readily complied with the advice; the declinature, as it was termed, was composed; it was sent to the various presbyteries, that the subscription of the whole members of the church might be obtained; and to the letter which accompanied it, this motto was prefixed: "If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him." About four hundred names were, in consequence of this step, attached to the declinature; and amongst these was that of Archbishop Spottiswoode, who distinguished himself by his zeal in defence of Black and the ecclesiastical council, whilst it has been, probably unjustly, alleged, that he secretly counteracted English schemes. *

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Nov. 23.

religion.

Suspecting that the Octavians were not the people to the cause of the church, its council also explained them, great as was their influence, to be admonished of their duty; and far from thinking it needful † to disregard the admonition, they solemnly declared that they had not been instrumental in the passing of measures which the King had adopted. James saw, that, under pretence of asserting the liberties of the

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 71—74, and printed History, p. 336—339. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Black, p. 14 and 16, and 18—20. Wodrow speaks of the duplicity of Spottiswoode in this matter as well known; but this should be received with much allowance.

of the church, he was threatened with opposition which might endanger his throne; and he issued a proclamation, ordering the most active ministers to leave the city, and prohibiting such conventions as that which had for some time been held. The clergy were not shaken in their purpose by this exertion of the sovereign power; they resolved to obey God rather than man; and they enjoined, that from the pulpit their privileges should, upon the first opportunity, be in the most confident strain and in full extent asserted. New resolutions as to the mode of defending Black were taken, and another declinature was, upon his again being summoned before the council, composed and circulated. The King, however, was resolute in the defence of his prerogative; a general declaration was issued, that he, the lords of the privy-council, and the other judges holding commission from the crown, were competent to decide upon all matters, criminal and civil, as well in the case of ministers as of other subjects; and it was resolved to proceed next day in the examination of the witnesses, whose evidence, it was supposed, would substantiate the charges against Black, now the idol of his party.*

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Nov. 31.

Yet even after matters had gone thus far, James

Moderation of James.

* Compare Spottiswoode, p. 419—424 with Calderwood, p. 335—342. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Black, p. 21—31, Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 52. It is proper also to consult Collier, Vol. II. p. 649—651, and Heylin's History of Presbyterians, p. 353—355.

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1596. was averse from proceeding to extremities, and he made, in the evening, this moderate proposal, that if Black would confess his guilt, he should be sent back to his congregation. To this Bruce, now completely alienated from his sovereign, answered in name of the other ministers, that if Black alone had been concerned, the proposal might have been accepted; but as the liberties of the church, which were of infinitely more moment than his life, or than the lives of a dozen of individuals, had been invaded by proclamations and by the decision of the privy-council, these must be withdrawn, or they would oppose while they had breath. The King, notwithstanding this answer, so nearly approaching to rebellion, attempted, in a conference with a few of the clergy, to show how unreasonably they were acting, and to convince them that they had mistaken the nature of the proceedings of which they complained, and some approach was made to an agreement. Black himself, however, either from vanity, or conviction of duty, refusing to make an

Dec. 2. apology to the council, his trial proceeded, and being found guilty, he was ordered, till his sentence had been pronounced by his Majesty, to whom it was referred, to be confined in the north, and to enter into ward within six days.*

* Calderwood, p. 351. Spottiswoode, p. 425. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Black, p. 32—36. Rymer's Foedera, Vol. XVI. p. 305. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 651, 652.

Although his patience might now have been exhausted, the King once more attempted to restore harmony, offering to rescind all the acts of council which had been passed, to proceed against the adherents of Popery, and not to hold the sentence pronounced in the case of Black as a precedent; but as he insisted that some punishment should be inflicted upon this man, the ministers not only refused these terms, but rejected another scheme which was submitted to them, and they retired from the royal presence, the dissatisfaction of both parties having been increased. As they appointed a fast for supplicating the Supreme Being that the heavy judgments hanging over the church might be averted, the King, by a proclamation, ordered the commissioners who formed the ecclesiastical council, and who had come to Edinburgh to attend it, to leave the city; and on the following day, with the view of counteracting their assertions respecting the danger to which religion was exposed, he issued a declaration, in which, after adverting to the violent conduct of the ministers, he solemnly assured his subjects, that it was his firm resolution to maintain the church discipline which was established, and to suffer nothing to be done to its prejudice. He concluded, by requiring the clergy to subscribe an expression of their willingness to obey his authority, under pain of having their stipends sequestrated. After some deliberation, it was decided by the council of the church, that the orders to re-

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move should be obeyed, and some of the courtiers entertained the idea, that, when the ministers of Edinburgh were left to themselves, they would be induced to act with moderation; but they continued faithful to the cause, and would enter into no conference till their brethren were publicly recalled. *

Tumult in Edinburgh. Dec. 17.

Matters were now fast hastening to tumult and disorder, and interested men, who had little concern about the issue of the differences between the King and the church, but who were eager for their own purposes, to promote confusion, put the match to the train which had been laid. On the morning of the seventeenth of December, a day memorable in the history of the Church of Scotland, insinuations or assertions were circulated, that Huntly had been privately at court, and had prevailed upon the King to issue an order, which had just been intimated, that twenty-four of the citizens best affected to the ministers should leave Edinburgh; the clergy were alarmed by assurances, that, if they did not now remain firm, Popery would be introduced; whilst the same fomenters of discord represented to the King, and to the Octavians, that the houses of the ministers were guarded, and that it was requisite to take every precaution for saving themselves from the fury of the populace. In this

* Calderwood's MS. Vol. V. p. 79—83, and printed History, p. 362, 363. Spottiswoode, p. 426, 427. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, Life of Bruce, p. 22.

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agitated state of men's minds, divine worship commenced, and Balquanqual, the officiating minister, who believed the reports which had been carefully sent to him, warned his audience of their danger,—complained of the treacherous forms of the court, accused some of the leading men in the kingdom, as having occasioned the present deplorable state of the church,—and recalling to the minds of those who heard him, how the noblemen and barons had struggled for the Reformation, he exhorted the lords and gentlemen who were present, to meet in one of the churches, after service, and to assist the ministry with their advice. The meeting immediately took place, and Bruce having expatiated upon the late interesting events, desired those who had assembled, to hold up their hands, and swear that they would defend religion against all opposers. Commissioners were then sent to the King, who was sitting with the Lords of Session, and whilst they were absent, passages of Scripture were read, calculated to inflame the people, who could not see the impropriety of the manner in which these passages were applied. Amongst the persons carrying the supplication, was Lord Lindsay, who, when the King asked how they had dared to meet? with much warmth replied, that in a season of so much hazard, he thought they might lawfully do more than petition. James apprehending from this answer, and from the furious manner in which the multitude were pressing into the hall, that some violent

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assault was intended, immediately withdrew, and ordered the gates to be shut. It was instantly circulated through the city, that he had given an unfavourable answer to the requests which had been offered, and Lindsay, upon his return, audaciously said,—Let us now stay together, advertise our friends and the favourers of religion, and take a decided part against our enemies, for it shall be either theirs or ours. Upon this, some cried to arms,—others exclaimed, the sword of the Lord and of Gideon, and there was every reason to apprehend all the horrors of popular commotion. Bruce, after in vain intreating his friends not to separate, exerted himself to calm the people; and the chief magistrate who, though he had been confined by sickness, considered himself as called upon to make every effort to restore tranquillity, by his wise and moderate representation, so soothed the populace, that they laid down their arms, and retired without farther outrage. *

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 122,—126, and p. 178—189, and printed History, p. 364, 365, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 364, 365. Row's MS. History, p. 64—66. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 22, 23, and Vol. XIV. quarto, in Life of Balquanqual, with addition D to that life, in which is an account taken from a MSS. by a person who, Wodrow supposes, was present. Apology by the Ministers, in MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 391—400. Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 68—71. Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 5, 6, a work of which Wodrow, in his printed history, speaks contemptuously, but which contains much information temperately conveyed. Petrie's Church History, Part 3d, p. 526—528.

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1596. Ministers alarmed.

The King instantly dispatched the Earl of Marr, to converse with the ministers, and inquire into the cause of the tumult. They seem for a moment to have been sensible that matters had proceeded too far; they declared not only that they disapproved what had happened, but that they had sought to restrain the people. Yet far from being led to alter the general tenor of their conduct, they again assembled with such of the laity as were devoted to them, and sent to the King propositions and articles, even more violent than any which they had yet devised. James, however, refused to admit the persons by whom they were brought, and next day not only retired to Linlithgow, upon the ground that his person was not safe in Edinburgh, but published a proclamation, in which, after detailing the insults which had been offered to him, and asserting that a multitude of the townsmen had, by persuasion of the ministry, treasonably put themselves in arms, with the intention of bereaving him and the council of their lives, he commanded the Lords of Session, the sheriffs, and commissioners of justice, with their several deputies, to remove from the town of Edinburgh, and to be in readiness to repair to such place as he should appoint, and prohibited all noblemen and barons from assembling without his permission. *

Dec. 18.

Dec. 18.

* Calderwood, p. 365, 366.—Spottiswoode, p. 428—430. Row's MS. History, p. 60. Wodrow's MSS. Vol I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 28. Calderwood's MS. Vol. V. p. 131, 132.

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This proclamation made a deep impression upon the public mind. When the zeal of the people abated, they began to see their rashness, and to lament the consequences which would follow, from the decisive steps taken by the king; while moderate men in higher situations of life, saw the propriety of making some submission to the monarch, and of restraining the clergy, who, however sincere in their ardour for the cause of pure religion, might be rendered instrumental in involving the kingdom in all the wretchedness invariably arising from popular tumult, or from civil war. *

Persist in their violence.

The ministers beheld with much uneasiness this decay of zeal, and they took every method to counteract it. In express opposition to the King's proclamation, they enjoined the nobles and barons to remain together; a bond was signed for calling to their aid all who valued the liberties of the church; and Lord Hamilton, by a letter written by Bruce, and subscribed by several of the ministers, was invited to put himself at the head of the party which they had formed. † On the succeeding Sunday,

* Spottiswoode, p. 430. The truth of this representation is apparent from the sermon which Bruce preached on the succeeding Sunday, in which he lamented, "that there existed such weakness in many who heard him, that they durst not so much as utter one word for God's glory, and his good cause." Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 25.

† Spottiswoode, p. 430, 431, compared with an unsatisfactory apology for the letter in Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 71. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 23, 24. Calderwood, in

Bruce exhorted the people to remain firm,—said that he was heartily sorry that the holy and gracious cause was so obscured by the late tumult, and that their desperate enemies were so emboldened to pull down the crown off Christ's head. He affirmed, that these enemies were running as direct a course to the ruin of the country, and of religion, as if they had combined with the Pope, the King of Spain, and the apostate Papists within the kingdom; while, on the other hand, in speaking of the ministers, he represented them as made the mouth of God, that they should oppose this manifest usurpation upon his spiritual kingdom, and this encroaching upon all their spiritual liberties. Such a discourse was little calculated to compose the passions of the congregation to which it was preached; but language much more intemperate was on the same day employed. It has been recorded that John Welsh, the son-in-law of Knox, a man who was revered as a prophet, who was considered as admitted to the most intimate communion with God, and who has even been gravely held forth by some of his biographers as a worker of miracles, declared in his sermon that the King was possessed with a devil; that one devil having been put out, seven had entered in its place, and that the subjects might lawfully rise and take the sword out of his hand. It has indeed, been contended by those who hold his memory in vene-

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his printed history, does not mention the letter, but he speaks of it in his MS. Vol. V. p. 126, 127.

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ration, that it was inconsistent with his character to employ expressions so indecent, and so treasonable; but even admitting that party zeal may have exaggerated, there can be little doubt that he had spoken in a strain which prudence and duty should have led him to avoid. *

Lord Hamilton did not judge it proper to accept the invitation which had been sent to him, and he even transmitted to the King a copy of the letter which he had received. Either from an unworthy desire of ingratiating himself with the sovereign, or from his trusting to his memory, the copy did not agree with the original; and Bruce, in a letter to Hamilton, expostulated with him upon what might, with so much appearance of reason, be attributed

* Wodrow in his Life of Bruce, p. 25, 26, has given the substance of the discourse, which that minister delivered on the 19th December. Spottiswoode, p. 430, gives the extract from Welsh's sermon, but, Wodrow, in his Life of Welsh, p. 8—10, displays much ingenuity in repelling the charge of the primate. He does not, however, assert, that the sermon was not delivered, but endeavours to shew, from circumstantial evidence, that it could not be such a sermon as Spottiswoode has represented. The life of Welsh is in every respect a most singular production, and, as throwing great light upon the religious sentiments of the period in which he lived, merits publication. Welsh spent eight hours of every day in prayer, or, as he expressed it, in wrestling with God, an exercise to him attended with vast bodily exertion; he uttered more predictions than any of the ancient prophets; and the particulars of his recovering a young man, apparently dead, are recorded, as if life was really restored in consequence of his intercession. It is difficult from the whole narration, highly laudatory as it is, not to draw the conclusion, that in this good man, enthusiasm had reached the point of insanity, to which it so naturally tends.

to a violation of honour, which, from all the circumstances connected with it, was in the highest degree aggravated. *

Remarks on the conduct of the ministers.

From the facts which have been stated, there can be little doubt with respect, at least, to the imprudence of the conduct which the ministers adopted. Their cause, viewed in itself, was unquestionably good. The King, there was too much reason to dread, was pursuing policy which tended to subvert the liberty and the religion of the kingdom; and, had no attempt been made to defend these, tyranny and superstition might again have been introduced. Had the clergy, therefore, by firm and vigorous representation, warned their sovereign of his errors, and pointed out what it was wisdom to follow; had they employed fairly their vast influence in leading to that moral resistance which is formidable to the most despotic of princes, they would have acted as virtuous patriots; they would, in all probability, have secured the interesting objects which, with praiseworthy solicitude, they contemplated; and they would have been entitled to respect and admiration. But, in the vehemence of their zeal, they did not calmly reflect and carefully

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, p. 24 and 26, where the two letters of Bruce are inserted. MS. Life of James Melvil. p. 391—400. Spottiswoode, p. 431, may be consulted for the copy sent to the King. The following expression in the original, "the people, as it effeirs, animated partly by the word and violence of the course," was changed into "the people animated by the word and motion of God's spirit."

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inquire; they disturbed their fancy by the apprehension of imaginary dangers; they too much disregarded the promises of the sovereign, which, whatever was his personal character, he saw it to be his interest to keep sacred; and, not sufficiently on their guard against the artifices of unprincipled men, they, however unintentionally, shook the allegiance of the people, and acted as if it had been their wish that the King should hold the sceptre only while it was under their direction. The consequence was, that, whilst they filled even their adherents with consternation, they lost, in a great degree, the confidence which had before been reposed in them, and thus opened the way to schemes of innovation, which, had they pursued a different line of conduct, the King, however eager to promote them, would not have ventured to propose.

CHAPTER NINTH.

Decisive measures taken by the King....His views with regard to the Church....A General Assembly....Popish Lords freed from the Sentence of Excommunication.... General Assembly at Dundee....Proceedings against Melvil....Lamentable Effects of Superstition.. ..Proposal to restore to the Church a Vote in Parliament.... Determination of the General Assembly ...Meeting of Commissioners at Falkland....Part of the Clergy shew their aversion to the New Ecclesiastical Regulations.... Conference at Holyrood-house....Players brought from England....General Assembly Ratifies the Commissioners Resolutions as to the Clergy's Vote in Parliament.... Remarks upon the altered Form of Ecclesiastical Polity....Gowrie's Conspiracy....A Parliament....Many of the Clergy Discontented....James directs his Views to the English Throne....Death and Character of Elizabeth....The King leaves Scotland.

CHAP. IX.

1596. Decisive measures taken by the King.

JAMES and his counsellors had penetration to observe the change which had taken place in the dispositions of a great part of the people, and they took advantage of it with much dexterity and address. The magistrates of Edinburgh were charged to apprehend the ministers of the city who had been so active in the late commotions; but they, sensible either

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that they had been deeply concerned, or that it was vain at this time to attempt their defence, withdrew from their charges, some lurking in Fife, and others taking refuge in the town of Newcastle in England. A deputation was sent from the metropolis to exculpate the magistrates, and to make all the submission which his Majesty should require; but he would not accept of their professions, and it was next day declared in Council, that all who had been engaged in the tumult were traitors. The ministers were required to subscribe a bond, recognizing the authority of the King to punish in all cases of sedition and treason; and a few days after, magistrates,

Dec. 27. barons, and every description of persons vested with power, were commanded to interrupt preachers uttering in the pulpit false and treasonable speeches; to commit them till advertisement of their offence had been given to the King and Council; or at least to prevent them from preaching within the jurisdiction of the magistrates by whom they had been interrupted. *

The reception given to the deputation from the city, and the subsequent declaration of the council, filled the inhabitants of Edinburgh with consternation. The court of session had been removed to

* Row's MSS. p. 66, 67. Spottiswoode, p. 431, compared with Calderwood, p. 367—369. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 26, 27, and Vol. XIV. quarto, in Life of Balcanqual. Petrie's Church History, Part III. p. 528. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 133.

Leith, and was ordained to be transferred to Perth; the ministers had fled; the magistrates were disregarded; and it was known, that many who surrounded the King would not hesitate to urge him to inflict even more severe punishment. In anxious suspence, the citizens agreed to send to their Sovereign some who had enjoyed his favour, and had never been implicated in faction; and these persons, accepting the commission, powerfully interceded for the town. James answered, that he could not suppose that such a tumult as had taken place could have originated without the connivance of some of the chief men in Edinburgh, and that it was therefore impossible to exculpate the city; but he intimated that he was not inclined to act with rigour, and that he should be guided by a convention of estates, which he had summoned to assemble. In a few days after this interview, he entered Edinburgh, and having called the magistrates into his presence, they expressed the deepest sorrow for the tumult,—justly declared that they had no previous intimation of it,—offered to take every step to bring the authors of it to justice,—and then said, "Because his Majesty had taken the tumult to proceed from certain sermons preached by their ministers, who were now denounced rebels, they should promise never to re-admit any of these ministers, unless his Majesty did command otherwise. As also, that the like might not happen thereafter, the town should be obliged never to receive any minister in time com-

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1596. ing but by his Majesty's advice and approbation." James still kept the fate of the city undecided; but some idea may be formed of the temper of the court, from the singular fact that several of the nobility gave this barbarous advice, that the metropolis should be razed to the ground, and a pillar erected on its ruins, as a memorial of the cause of its destruction.* The King was not so infatuated or so ignorant of the dispositions of his subjects, as, by an act of such unprincipled and mad tyranny, to gratify his resentment. He saw how much he had gained by the fear which had been excited, and that, instead of having reason to dread the violence of the ministers, he might now place them under restraint. In the resolution to conciliate rather than to exasperate, he was confirmed by a letter from Elizabeth, in which that sagacious princess pointed out to him, that, notwithstanding the outrages of the ministers, the security of his throne rested upon the principles which they had inculcated. †

1597. His views with regard to the Church.

The King lost no time in preparing to make those changes in the church, which, through his present increased influence, he hoped to effect. He ordered a General Assembly to be held at Perth, and, as there was still great opposition to his interference, the na-

* Spottiswoode, p. 431, 432.

† Spottiswoode, p. 432, 433, has inserted the letter, and added, that the substance of it was acceptable to the King, his object not being to use rigor, but to assure the future obedience of his subjects, and to make his own advantage of their disorders. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 163, 164.

ture of which he unfolded in a long series of questions upon various points of ecclesiastical discipline, he used every method to strengthen his party amongst the clergy, that he might command a majority in the Assembly. The synod of Fife, which had uniformly taken an active part in defence of Melvil's opinions, early took these questions into consideration, and having appointed the most enlightened of their number to discuss them, answers were given which clearly indicated their determination not to deviate from their former sentiments.* Much, however, was expected by the King from the ministers in the north of Scotland, who, removed from the scene of contest, had always displayed more temper and moderation than their southern brethren. To ascertain what were their views, and to confirm them in adherence to his Majesty, Sir Patrick Murray submitted to them several proposals, and although they returned to these, most guarded answers, they shewed that they disapproved of the tumult at Edinburgh—that they conceived it to be their duty to yield lawful obedience to their sovereign,—and that, although they had little hope of his doing so, they would be highly gratified if the Earl of Huntly would sincerely repent of his con-

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 403—420, in which the questions and the answers of the synod are inserted. See also Spottiswoode, p. 436, 437. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 190—209, and printed Hist. p. 382—389. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Davidson, p. 31, and Petrie's Church History, Part 3d, p. 529.

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duct, and satisfy the church. With their replies, so different from those which he had of late been accustomed to receive from the ministers in the neighbourhood of the court, the King was much pleased; and having got private assurances that he would have no cause to complain of their conduct while they attended the Assembly in Perth, he shewed how eager he was to give them satisfaction, by remonstrating with Huntly, and assuring him, that if he did not conform to the wishes of the clergy, his estates and his honours would never be restored. *

General Assembly. March 1.

The General Assembly summoned by the King, met at Perth, and was numerously attended; a much larger proportion than usual of ministers from the north of Scotland being present. † Some doubts were stated by the zealous presbyterians about the lawfulness of the meeting, but it was at length decided that it was an extraordinary Assembly, legally constituted. ‡ The commissioners of the King then mentioned, that, as the great design of his Majesty was to secure the peace of the church, he did not request the discussion of all the questions which had been printed, but merely

* Spottiswoode, p. 438. Petrie's Church History, Part iii. p. 530. Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XVI. p. 310, 311.

† MS. Life of J. Melvil, p. 420. Calderwood, p. 393. Petrie, p. 530.

‡ Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 28. Calderwood has adduced thirteen arguments to prove this an unlawful assembly.

the decision of a few articles which appeared essential to the object that he had in view. Upon these, several members appointed by the Assembly privately deliberated, and their report was approved; but, although it was more moderate than Melvil, who was prevented by the business of his college from being present, would have sanctioned, it did not seem to the King satisfactory, and he asked that it should be reconsidered. Some alterations were in consequence made, and the conclusions which were at length confirmed, will shew both what were the propositions to the Assembly, and how different were the sentiments and the temper now displayed, from those which had, before the 17th of December, marked ecclesiastical proceedings. It was agreed, 1. "That it is lawful to his Majesty, by himself or his commissioners, or to the pastors, to propose in a General Assembly, whatsoever point his Majesty or they desire to be resolved or reformed in matters of external government, alterable according to circumstances, provided it be done in right time or place, "animo edificandi non tentandi." 2. That no minister shall reprove his Majesty's laws, acts, statutes, and ordinances, till such time as he has, by the advice of his presbytery, or by that of the General Assembly, complained and sought remedy for the same, from his Majesty, and made report of his Majesty's answer. 3. That no man's name shall be mentioned in the pulpit, to his rebuke, except

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the fault be notorious and public, which notoriety is thus defined: If the person be fugitive, convicted by an assize, excommunicated, contumacious after citation or lawful admonition; nor yet shall any man be *vively* described by any other circumstances than public vices always to be condemned. 4. That no minister shall use application wherein he hath not a principal respect to the edifying of his own flock and audience. 5. That every presbytery shall take diligent account of the pastor's doctrine, and that he keep himself within the bounds of the word. 6. That the determination of the sixth article, which was directed against the practice of summary excommunication, shall be delayed till next Assembly, but that in the mean time all such excommunication shall be discontinued. 7. That the seventh article, requiring that the censures of sessions, presbyteries, and synods, should not extend to persons beyond the bounds of their jurisdiction, be also referred to the subsequent Assembly. 8. That every summons shall specify the cause and crime, and none be given out *super inquirendis*. 9. That no conventions shall be amongst pastors, without his Majesty's knowledge and consent, except sessions, presbyteries, and synods, meetings for visitation of churches, admission or deprivation of ministers, taking up of deadly feuds, and the like, which have not been found fault with by his Majesty. 10. That in all principal towns, the ministers shall not be chosen without the consent of his Majesty, and that of the

flock. 11. That all matters relating to the remaining questions, published by his Majesty, shall be suspended, and neither condemned nor rebuked in the pulpit, or in judicatories, till they be decided in the General Assembly; and that no matter importing slander, and prejudging his Majesty's authority, shall come before them, ecclesiastical causes only excepted. 12. That for treating upon the remaining questions of his Majesty, a certain number of the brethren are chosen, who are to report their opinion and advice to the next Assembly, referring the time and place of their meeting to his Majesty. The last resolution was, that a commission should be given to certain ministers in the districts of Scotland, in which the Popish earls resided, to confer with them, and to press their agreement to certain proposals, having for their object the abjuration of popery by these noblemen, their not associating with priests and jesuits, and their acknowledgement of the church of Scotland as a true church." *

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 492—501. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 420—428. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. XIV. quarto, in Life of Andrew Melvil. Calderwood, p. 394—400. Spottiswoode, p. 438—442. This writer has so inaccurately copied one of the resolutions of the Assembly as to destroy its sense. He represents it as determined that every presbyter should attend to the doctrine of his pastor, instead of every presbytery, and that the pastor keep himself within the bounds of his words, instead of keeping himself within the bounds of the word. These mistakes are probably owing to the editor, who has used occasionally great freedom with the primate's MSS. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 220—230.

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These acts have only to be perused to satisfy every reader that the King had gained vast ascendancy over the General Assembly. Many of the points for which preceding assemblies had most vigorously struggled, are abandoned; much influence is given to the sovereign over all ecclesiastical judicatories; he is furnished with the means of repressing those seditious addresses to the people, which had been so formidable to the government, and, what perhaps he regarded as of the greatest importance, the practice was sanctioned of electing a small number of commissioners to have constant access to him, and to discuss with him the most interesting regulations for the administration of the church. The zealous adherents of Melvil at once saw the consequences which would result from this innovation, and they lamented it as an unfortunate departure from the pure model of presbyterian discipline, which had by law been established; while, on the other hand, it was carefully preserved by the court, as giving much facility to the adoption of such changes as the King judged it expedient to introduce.* Nothing, however, so decisively manifested the alteration which had taken place in the minds of the clergy, as the readiness with which they permitted the adoption of measures for removing from the Popish lords, who had so long been regarded as the worst enemies of

* Calderwood's History, p. 409. Row's MS. Hist. p. 59.

the church and the state, that sentence of excommunication, which, with every circumstance that could render it dreadful, had been pronounced against them. CHAP. IX. 1597.

The King did not conceal his satisfaction at the issue of the deliberations of the Assembly, and, encouraged by this, the members requested that he would formally declare this satisfaction; that he would renew his assurance of attachment to the constitution of the church; take vigorous measures against the papists; shew his indulgence to the ministers of Edinburgh, who had incurred his resentment; and give his assistance in planting churches, and in procuring for those who officiated in them a competent provision. To these supplications, he returned a gracious answer, and, not long after the Assembly, he permitted the ministers of Edinburgh to return to the city, although he prohibited them from exercising their clerical functions. * April.

Popish Lords freed from the sentence of excommunication. June.

The clergy who had been appointed to converse with the Popish lords, executed with diligence and fidelity the commission with which they had been entrusted, and being satisfied with the sincerity of the professions made by these noblemen, they made a favourable report. The consequence was,

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. and printed History, p. 401, 402. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 28, 29. Spottiswoode, p. 443.

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that, in the course of the year, the sentence of excommunication was reversed; they were declared by proclamation to be the King's faithful subjects, and they were restored to their possessions and their rank.

The strictest of the ministry were highly displeased with the late Assembly. They declared that it had not been regularly summoned, and that it had been wholly guided by the King, and some of them went to St Andrews, in the month of April, to hold the Assembly, which by the last independent meeting of that ecclesiastical judicatory, had been appointed to convene in that city. They had, however, the mortification to find that they were not generally supported, for they were joined by so few, that although they constituted the court, they did not pass any acts, but rested satisfied with taking protestation that the liberties of the church should not be infringed. †

Assembly at Dundee. May 10.

The Assembly, in obedience to the ordinance of the King, met at Dundee, for considering the rest of the tion questions, and for carrying forward his schemes with respect to ecclesiastical order and discipline. In opposition to the representations of the firm and consistent Presbyterians, the proceedings at Perth were ratified, and several additional regulations were framed. It was resolved that his Ma-

* Calderwood, p. 405, and 411, 412. Spottiswoode, p. 445, 446.

† MS. Life of Melvil, p. 429, 430. He here draws a contrast between the King's Assemblies and the Kirk's. Calderwood, p. 402.

jesty's approbation should be solicited to any act affecting the state of his highness, or of his subjects; that all ministers should be ordained by imposition of hands, a ceremony which, in the case of Bruce, had been omitted; that they should be admitted to particular congregations, and that Presbyteries should confine their deliberations to what was strictly ecclesiastical. In conformity with what had been introduced at last Assembly, but with more ample powers, a few commissioners were chosen, whose duty it was to assemble when summoned by the King, and to treat of whatever tended to preserve harmony between him and the church. * CHAP. IX. 1597.

Soon after the dissolution of the Assembly, the commissioners having been summoned by the King, met at Falkland, and, from the steps taken by them, it is evident that, as had been apprehended, they were not averse to be in some degree guided by the Court. Lindsay of Balcarras having complained to the presbytery of St Andrews, that Wallace, one of the ministers of that city, had made from the pulpit an indecent attack upon his character, the presbytery, influenced by Andrew Melvil, treated the complaint with contempt. Lindsay brought the matter before the commissioners, who, disregarding the plea of some of the clergy, that they had no Meeting of the commissioners. June.

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 513—516. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 431—434. Calderwood, p. 406—410, and MSS. Vol. V. p. 235—250. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. XIV. quarto, in Life of Andrew Melvil. Eight pages are here wanting in the folio copy of the life. Spottiswoode, p. 444, 445.

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power to enter upon the investigation, began to examine into the truth of the charge. Wallace refusing to answer the questions which were put to him, they transferred their meeting to St Andrews, that the whole information requisite for pronouncing a judgment might be obtained. The King accompanied them, and having interrupted Wallace during the delivery of a sermon, Melvil sharply rebuked him, denouncing heavy judgment against him, if he did not repent. The commissioners removed Wallace from his charge, and they also dismissed Black, who had a little before resumed his ministry in St Andrews. *

Proceedings against Melvil.

The violent and disrespectful conduct of Andrew Melvil, who was irritated by the proceedings of the commissioners, and by their substituting in the room of the ministers whom they had censured, Gladstones, a man more tractable, and not disposed to resist the King, determined James to humble this intrepid leader of the Presbyterians, to whom he imputed all the commotions which had agitated the church, and disturbed the tranquillity of the state. For this purpose, under the pretence that he had too long held the office, Melvil was deprived of the honourable situation of Rector of the University; the state of the new college, over which

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Black, p. 47. and Vol. XIV. quarto, in Life of Andrew Melvil. Wodrow finds much fault with the account given by Spottiswoode, p. 446, 447; but his censures of the Archbishop are often too severe.

he presided was examined, and the persons who conducted the examination, having discovered, or affected to discover, that politics had been preferred to religious topics in the lectures to the students, the King, not very judiciously, prescribed the subjects upon which the professors were to enlarge, regulated the management of the revenue, and, which was the chief object in view, prevailed upon the commissioners to pass a resolution, that no doctors or professors, particularly professors of divinity, not having care of souls, should vote in ecclesiastical judicatories. The reason assigned for this was, that attendance upon these judicatories would interfere with more important duties, but the design really was, to prevent Melvil from being present in Assemblies, in which he would employ all the energies of his vigorous mind, in resisting innovations which he condemned and abhorred. *

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In the course of this summer, the minds of the people of Scotland were much agitated, and their fears awakened, by an impostor, who having upon her own confession, extorted by fear of the rack, been condemned as guilty of witchcraft, endeavoured to save her life by discovering numbers who

Lamentable effects of superstition.

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 435, 436. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. XIV. quarto, in life of Andrew Melvil. In it is extracted the account of this transaction given by Calderwood in his MS. History. Calderwood's printed History, p. 411, and MS. Vol. V. p. 252, 253, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 447, 448

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were involved in the same crime. It is deplorable to think, that this superstition, cherished even by the most enlightened men of the nation, like all other superstitions, deadened the best feelings of the heart, and led those whose general character was marked by humanity, to encourage the most shocking cruelty. Upon the declaration of an unhappy woman, driven to insanity by the harshness of her persecutors, many innocent women were, without compunction, put to death. What must have been the feelings of those who urged such dreadful measures, when, from the anguish of remorse, the accuser acknowledged that all her charges were false, and when the evidence of this was so apparent, that the most bigotted believer in witchcraft could not resist its force? They lamented the precipitation with which they had acted; they must have reflected with bitter emotions upon the horrible torments of the helpless sufferers; and they must have approved of the King's order, recalling the commission for proceeding against such as were suspected of the diabolical intercourse so much abhorred. Yet it appears, that the error into which the judges had fallen, did not lead to the suspicion that the crime which they had punished was imaginary, for James, whilst he suspended all process against witches, excepted the case of their voluntary confession, which implies, that they had something to confess, and he remitted to parliament to devise the mode in which future trials should be conducted. The sub-

ject was discussed in the great assembly of the nation, for amongst the unprinted acts, there is one entitled, "anent the form of process against witches." * 1597.

Proposal to restore to the church a vote in parliament.

The King had uniformly been desirous, that the constitution should not be invaded by the abolition of the ecclesiastical estate in parliament. In the scheme which Lindsay had formed for settling the revenue of the clergy, provision was made for the introduction of their order into the estates, in perfect consistency with the maxims of presbytery; and James embraced the period when he found himself able to influence the views of the ministers, to secure this object in a manner more agreeable to those principles of ecclesiastical polity, which, even at this time he would have gladly introduced. He brought the subject under discussion, in a parliament which met at Edinburgh, and an act was passed, ordaining that such pastors and ministers as his Majesty should at any time please to invest with the office, place, and dignity of a bishop, abbot, or other prelate, should at all time hereafter, have vote in parliament, in the same way as any prelate was accustomed to have, declaring that all bishoprics present- 19th Dec.

* Spottiswoode, p. 448. Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 364. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1284. King James was so fully satisfied of the intercourse with evil spirits, that he wrote a strange book upon the subject. In a former work, I alluded to some grave statements connected with this subject by Sir James Melvil. He coolly details, that the devil preached in the church of North Berwick, and mentions how he treated his audience.

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ly vacant, or which might afterwards become vacant, should be given by his Majesty to actual preachers and ministers, or to persons qualified to become such, and who should pledge themselves that they would enter upon the ministry. This part of the act appears to be a complete parliamentary restoration of episcopacy, and it certainly put it in the power of the Sovereign, without needing any further consent of the estates, to introduce that form of church government; but to avoid giving offence to the clergy, or to prevent their attachment to the principles for which they had so lately strenuously contended from being too rudely shocked, this provision was added, "concerning the office of the said persons to be provided to the said bishoprics, in their spiritual polity and government of the church, the estates of parliament have remitted the same to the King's Majesty, to be advised, consulted upon, and agreed by his Highness, with the General Assembly of ministers, at such times as his Majesty shall think expedient to treat with them thereupon, without prejudice in the meantime, to the jurisdiction and discipline of the church, established by acts of parliament, made in any time preceding, and permitted by the said acts to all general and provincial assemblies, and others whatsoever, presbyteries and sessions of the church." *

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 450, 451. Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 847. Calderwood, p. 412, 413, and MSS. Vol. V. p. 271, 272. Spottiswoode, p. 440. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Great Britain, Vol. II. p. 658.

This limitation, it will be seen, was essentially necessary, and it was contrived with much art, for it gave a feeble, indeed, but an apparent sanction to presbytery, and it afforded those ministers who were disposed to coalesce with the court, the pretext, that, by doing so, they did not act inconsistently, or sacrifice the polity which they had represented as inseparable from the purity of religion. Still however the commissioners, who were no strangers to the ardent zeal felt by the great part of the clergy against any approach to episcopacy, thought it prudent to prepare the minds of their brethren for the plans in agitation, and to obviate the objections which they anticipated. Along with the intimation for the meeting of a General Assembly, appointed by the King, to be held on an earlier day than that to which it had been adjourned, they sent a kind of address to the different presbyterics, in which they thus vindicated the part which they had acted: "According as it hath been the continual custom of the church to crave from parliament such things as were found necessary to pass into law for their good and privileges, so with advice of divers commissioners of presbyteries, we found it requisite to insist upon such articles as have been craved by the church in parliament, in times by past, and particularly, we urged the articles respecting the church's vote in parliament, and respecting the universal provision of churches with stipends. In both, we found great opposition, by

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the far greatest part of the lords, but the King's Majesty, conducted our suit with such wisdom and dexterity in our favour, that at length, after many hard reasonings, his Majesty procured, that he might dispose the whole great benefices to ministers, and that such ministers as should be admitted to them, should have vote, without prejudice always to the present discipline and jurisdiction of the church in any part, as ye will understand by the act itself, whereof we have sent you here a copy, which his Majesty thinks shall be a mean to vindicate the ministry from their present contempt and poverty. And this is already perceived by many to their grief, who fear their hurt in our credit. For this cause, we have been earnestly requested by some of the wisest of all estates, who most favour the good cause, that without scruple we should accept this good occasion. Which point of present acceptation was pressed so earnestly by the lords, that unless we would immediately give our consent thereto, they would not suffer the foresaid act to pass in our favour. Yet his Majesty was so favourable to us, and so careful to save our credit, and avoid offence, that, by his means, all relating to our part is freely referred to this Assembly. Therefore, we beseech you brethren, to have a regard hereof, with such wisdom and care as is necessary in a matter of so great importance, and send in commission to the said Assembly the most wise, grave, and of best credit and experience amongst

you, so far as infirmity and age may permit, that good occasion may be used at this time, as that the good may be taken without any part, so far as it is possible." The letter concluded with some information relating to the schemes for providing stipends. * CHAP. IX. 1597. Feb.

Nothing could be better calculated than this address, to overcome the prejudice which those, by whom it was written, were aware that the measure explained by them would create. They insist upon the great point, that the act of parliament was merely a civil regulation, not in the slightest degree interfering with the privileges or the jurisdiction of the church, and, by associating the vote in parliament with deliverance from the most distressing poverty, they brought to its support some of the most powerful motives which influence human conduct. The speciousness of the letter was accordingly admitted by the most vehement of the clergy, but they still insisted, that the purpose in contemplation was to restore what all had been eager to remove; and the synod of Fife, ever the first to second or to enforce the maxims of Melvil, held a meeting for considering so interesting a subject. James Melvil, who, although he had been nominated one of the commissioners, firmly adhered to his uncle, when he perceived that many were inclined to agree to the proposal, endeavoured with

* Calderwood's History, p. 413, 414.

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much force and ingenuity to shew, that if it were once found profitable or expedient to give ministers a vote in parliament, it behoved these ministers to be bishops and prelates, otherwise by the act they could not be admitted; but when Andrew Melvil, with his accustomed vehemence, was pressing this argument, he was reminded, that by the late statute of the King and the commissioners at the visitation of the university, he had no place in the synod. He replied with the highest indignation to this remark, not the less grating that it was true; after which, Ferguson, one of the oldest of the ministers, warmly espoused his opinion, and Davidson, who had always been distinguished by his ardour in the cause of presbytery, with considerable felicity, alluding to the capture of Troy, said, "equo ne credite Teucri," which he thus paraphrased in the old Scottish dialect, "busk, busk him as bonilie as ye can, and bring him in as fairly as ye will, we see him well enough; we see the horns of his mitre." *

It cannot be denied, that the inference drawn by the zealous ministers in the synod of Fife, was a very natural one, and that they acted with perfect consistency, when they stated what they apprehended. Yet it afterwards appeared, that the commissioners were sincere, and had no intention,

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 451—453. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. XIV. quarto, in Life of Andrew Melvil, and Vol. I. folio, in Life of Davidson, p. 32.

and no desire to undermine presbytery. They probably had brought themselves to believe, that by proper precautions, the revival of episcopacy could be prevented, and, from the numerous obstacles which had been thrown in the way of every plan for giving to the ministers competent means of support, they were convinced, that, till they acquired parliamentary influence, they would look in vain for the relief, which a regard to their comfort, no less than to the interest of religion, led them anxiously to desire. 1598.

Determination of the General Assembly. March 7.

The Assembly called by the King, and at which the question respecting the vote of the ministers in parliament was to be decided, met at Dundee. Every method which suggested itself to the King was taken for securing the victory, and, after the Assembly had been constituted, Andrew Melvil, who had taken his seat, was not only removed, but, as an effectual precaution against his interference was at length ordered to quit the town.*

Several days were spent in the arrangement of other business, before the question which most deeply interested the members was brought under discussion; but the King at length opened the matter in a speech, in which he expatiated upon his anxiety to promote the good of the church, and

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 72, 73, and Life of Davidson, p. 32. Calderwood, p. 415. Petrie, Part III. p. 537.

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suggested the propriety of giving to the ministers a place in the states of the kingdom. A long and keen debate followed, Bruce, James Melvil, and Davidson, strenuously opposing the scheme, and Gladstones, who was afterwards made a bishop, defending it upon the constitutional ground of preserving in parliament a representation of the different classes and interests in the community. It was at length decided by a majority, that it is necessary and expedient for the good of the church, that the ministry, as the third estate in this realm, in name of Christ, have vote in parliament. *

It was afterwards determined, that the number of ministers who were to sit in the great council of the nation, should, as in the time of the Popish hierarchy, be fifty-one, and that the choice of them should belong partly to the King, and partly to the church. As, however, it was impossible at once to regulate the mode of election, and many other points as to the duration of the commission given to the persons elected, and as to precautions necessary for guarding against corruption, the Assembly enjoined every presbytery maturely to consider the

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 259. MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 454—456. Row's MS. History, p. 68, 69. Calderwood, p. 418—420. Spottiswoode, p. 449. James Melvil, writing under the irritation of disappointment, begins his account of the mode in which the point was decided in these words. "Mr Gilbert Bodie, a drunken Orkney ass, was first called, and led the ring when the matter was put to voting." Calderwood, with strange and inexcusable perversion of taste, copies this from Melvil, giving it as his own remark.

particulars, and having done so, to meet on the first of June in synods. These synods, after discussing anew the regulations to be approved, were required to choose each of them three members to meet upon a month's intimation, with the King and with the doctors, or theological professors of universities, Andrew Melvil being included, and to come to a decision, which, if unanimous, was to be final, but if otherwise, was to be reported to the next General Assembly. * 1598.

The Assembly having thus given its sanction to what not long before would have been considered as in direct opposition to the fundamental principles of Presbyterian discipline, was preparing to dissolve, when Davidson, not contented with the opposition which he had made to its decisions, protested, that none of the acts which had been passed should be considered as valid, because the Assembly had not been free, but had been overawed by the King. None, however, chose to join in this bold measure, and the protestation was unanimously rejected. †

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 530. Calderwood's History, p. 421.

† Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 531. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 280—305. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Davidson, p. 33, 34. Rollock, Principal of the University of Edinburgh, was Moderator of this Assembly, a man of the most amiable dispositions and character, who, considering that the Presbyterians had proceeded too far in taking the steps connected with the tumult in the metropolis, after that, supported the views of the court without forfeiting the esteem of those with whom he had long been connected. His name is associated with the progress of literature, for when it was

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1598. Meeting of commissioners at Falkland, July 29.

The persons who, in consequence of the act of last Assembly had been chosen by the different synods, or who had been nominated by that act, met at Falkland, about the end of July. It was there agreed, 1*st*, That the church should name six ministers for each prelacy that was vacant, from whom the King should choose one to vote in parliament; but, if none of the six were acceptable to his Majesty, another list was to be presented, from which one was certainly to be taken. 2*dly*, That the nomination should be made by the General Assembly, with advice of the synods and presbyteries, who were required to give in writing the names of such as they esteemed qualified, as well without as within the bounds of their jurisdiction, it being, however, understood, that if there was any one within the bounds equally eligible, he should be preferred; and 3*dly*, That churches having been sufficiently provided, and no prejudices done to schools, colleges, and universities already established, the person chosen to sit in parliament should enjoy, as his revenue, all the rest of the prelacy to which he was preferred. But while the commis-

determined to found the University at Edinburgh, he was selected as the first professor, and performed for some time the whole duty of teaching. The account given of him, and of the origin of the University by Wodrow, is very interesting, and if it cannot be separately published, the insertion of it would much enrich any of our periodical publications. Rollock's life is in the first folio volume of Wodrow's MSS. belonging to the University of Glasgow.

sioners, to gratify the King, and perhaps from the influence of that ambition which it is so difficult to eradicate from the breast, thus devised a scheme for exalting some of their number, they were most anxious that this should not lay the foundation for restoring episcopacy; their prejudices against which, were, notwithstanding their concessions, and the unwearied efforts of the court to influence their decisions, very little, if at all diminished. They therefore added to the regulations which have been detailed, the following cautions, as they were denominated, the intention of which it was impossible not distinctly to perceive. The cautions were, 1. That the person elected to represent the clergy, should not propose to council, convention, or parliament, in name of the church, any thing without express warrant and direction from the church, neither should he consent, nor keep silence in the said conventions, if any thing was moved prejudicial to the good and liberty thereof, under pain of deposition from his office. 2. That he should be bound to give an account of his proceedings, in the discharge of his commission, to every General Assembly, and to obtain their ratification of the same, submitting himself to their judgment, without making any appeal, under pain of infamy and excommunication. 3. That he should content himself with that part of his benefice which should be given him for his living, and not prejudice the rest of the ministers within his benefice, planted,

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or to be planted, or any other minister in the country, whatsoever; this clause to be inserted in his provision. 4. That he should not dilapidate his benefice in any sort, or make any lease or disposition thereof, without the special advice and consent of his Majesty and the General Assembly, and for the greater warrant, should interdict himself, and be content that inhibition be raised against him to that effect. 5. That he should be bound to attend the congregation faithfully, at which he should be appointed minister, in all the points of a pastor, and be subject to the trial and censure of his own presbytery or provincial assembly, as any of the other ministers that bear no commission. 6. That in the administration of discipline, collation of benefices, visitation, and other points of ecclesiastical government, he should neither usurp nor claim to himself any more power or jurisdiction than any of his brethren, except he be employed, under pain of deprivation; and in case he do usurp any part of the ecclesiastical government, the presbytery, synod, or General Assembly, opposing and making impediment thereto, whatsoever he should do thereafter, should be null, *ipso facto*, without any declarator. 7. That in presbyteries, and provincial and general assemblies, he should behave himself in all things as one of the brethren, and be subject to their censure. 8. That at the admission to his office of commissioner, he should swear and subscribe all these and other points necessary, other-

wise he should not be admitted. 9. That if he should happen to be deposed from the ministry by the presbytery, synod, or General Assembly, he should lose his place in parliament, and the benefice be void *ipso facto*. Some points of great importance, respecting the title which should be assumed, and the duration of the office, were left to be decided by the next General Assembly. * CHAP. IX. 1598.

The King, although he disapproved of the strictness with which the commissioners had guarded against what they termed the corruption of those who were to have voice in parliament, did not object to the limitations, hoping that, as the introduction of the clerical order into the assembly of the estates was obtained, he would find some subsequent opportunity of breaking the shackles with which their representatives were fettered. The zealous presbyterians, on the other hand, far from being satisfied with the restrictions, reprobated the whole scheme as paving the way, in harmony with the wishes of the sovereign, for the complete restoration of the order of bishops. † They accordingly took advantage of every circumstance which tended to convince the people that the King was not only de- Part of the clergy shew their aversion to the resolutions. 1599.

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 458. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 538—540. Row's MS. Hist. p. 69 and 80. MS. in the University Library of Edinburgh, giving an account of the conferences at Falkland and Holyroodhouse, concerning ecclesiastical polity. Spottiswoode, p. 451,—453. Calderwood, p. 439—441. MSS. Vol. V. p. 336.

† Spottiswoode, p. 453, and Collier, Vol. II. p. 662, compared with Calderwood, p. 426 and 428.

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cidedly hostile to presbytery, but was even secretly partial to the Popish religion. They mourned over
1599. the evils abounding in the country,—lamented the resolution of his Majesty to prorogue the Assembly which had been appointed to meet at Aberdeen,—while they expatiated upon the restoration of Bethune the Popish Archbishop of Glasgow, to the temporalities of his former see, and upon his being authorized to appear in a public capacity at the Court of France. *

But the chief mean which was employed to excite alarm, was furnished by a work composed by the King, and addressed to his son, under the title of Basilikon Doron. One of the persons who had been employed to transcribe the work, had communicated to Andrew Melvil several passages which shewed what were the King's real sentiments as to ecclesiastical polity, and as to the views and character of the great majority of his clergy. In these passages it was asserted, "that parity amongst ministers was inconsistent with the existence of monarchy; that without bishops, the three estates in parliament could not be restored; and that the design of the presbyterian ministers was to establish a democracy." These extracts were laid up-
Oct. on the table of the synod of Fife, accompanied with some reflections directly censuring the King; and,

* Calderwood, p. 426. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 36. Row's MS. History, p. 69. Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 377.

although no regular debate upon the subject took place, although from the interference of two commissioners from the King, who had been sent to watch the proceedings of that Assembly, strict search was made for the person who had produced the exceptionable remarks, still the knowledge of what they contained could not fail to be disseminated, and the effect of it increased by the publication of the work, which soon after took place. *

Conference at Holyroodhouse. Nov. 17—19.

From the state of public opinion, which was little in unison with the sentiments of the court, James had prorogued the General Assembly, which should have been held in the month of July; and still apprehensive that he might find much difficulty in gaining his object, or desirous to prevent all opposition, he appointed a conference upon the regulations of the commissioners to take place in his presence at Holyroodhouse, between those who had framed the resolutions, and the most inflexible supporters of presbytery. Although the utmost liberty was granted in stating what they thought, there was no intention to modify or alter what had been previously decided, and aware of this, or wishing to make their great stand for ecclesiastical parity, rather in the Assembly than at a private convention, the zealous ministers at first declined

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 458—460. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 73—75. Calderwood. p. 428, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 455, 456.

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engaging in any discussion. Being, however, urged to enter upon the subject, they consented, and they argued with much force against the conclusions which had been adopted. The arguments of their opponents, far from convincing them that they were wrong, fortified them in their previous opinions; and the King, sensible that no good effect could result from further dispute, broke off the conference. *

Players brought from England.

An incident took place towards the end of this year, which shocked the moral and religious sentiments of the ministers, and served to confirm the unfavourable ideas which many of them entertained respecting the principles of their sovereign. In the course of some correspondence which he had with Elizabeth, he had requested that she would send a party of comedians into Scotland. With this she readily complied. Upon their beginning their theatrical representations, the ministers of Edinburgh took the alarm. In their sermons they inveighed against the theatre, and against the licentious conduct and profaneness of the players; they remonstrated with the King; and the general session of the metropolis made an act, declaring it to be scandalous to resort to their plays. James was much offended with this interference, which he regarded

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 461—477, where the reasoning on both sides is detailed at great length. Row's MS. Hist. p. 70—78. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of A. Melvil, p. 75, 76. Calderwood, p. 428—434.

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as setting his authority at defiance, and he insisted upon the act being repealed. The ministers were inclined to resist, but the other members of the session yielded, reluctant to renew a contest with the King. Whatever sentiments may be entertained in the present day with regard to the innocence or the utility of the stage, and there is, perhaps, too much ground for doubting both, there can be little hesitation in concluding, that it was unwise in James, struggling, as he now was, with the most learned and respected part of his subjects, to do what the slightest acquaintance with the manners of the reformers must have convinced him would fill them with indignation; for they detested what they believed calculated to undermine virtuous principles, and what they viewed as originating in levity so inconsistent, in their estimation, with the fallen and sinful condition of man. *

1600.

1600. March 15. General Assembly ratifies the resolutions of the commissioners.

The King, believing that he had no longer reason to fear that the discontent at the new ecclesiastical regulations would become so formidable as to prevent their being carried into execution, summoned the General Assembly to meet at Montrose, probably for the conveniency of the northern clergy. Notwithstanding the vigorous and well-conducted

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 38. Spottiswoode, p. 456. Guthrie, in his History of Scotland, Vol. VIII. p. 358, mentions, that he had great reason to think that Shakespeare was amongst the number of these players. He does not say upon what evidence his opinion rested.

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1600. March.

opposition of the advocates for the established discipline; notwithstanding their attempts to shew that the granting to the clergy a vote in parliament would terminate in "antichristian and Anglical episcopal dignities, offices, and titles, flatly repugnant to the word of God," and that the avocations which thus would arise to the ministers were inconsistent with their pastoral duties, the two offices which would be held by those who were elected commissioners being incompatible, the resolutions passed at Falkland were sanctioned with the cautions or limitations by which they had been checked. Two points, however, still remained to be decided,—the title to be assumed by the commissioners, and the duration of their commission. With respect to the former of these, it seems to have been at once determined, that the appellation of bishop should not be used, but that of commissioner retained; with respect to the latter, there was much discussion and diversity of sentiment. The object of the Court was, that the appointment should endure for life, or till the person who received it was convicted of a crime. This, however, could not be effected; and it was at length determined, by a majority of votes, that the commissioners should annually give an account of their commission, and lay down the same at the feet of the Assembly, to be continued or altered as that high ecclesiastical judicatory, with the consent of his Majesty, should think most expedient for the good of the church. Two addi-

tional restrictions were, at the same time, enacted; that they who had a vote in parliament should not come as members to any general assembly, or vote in it, except they were authorized to that effect by their respective presbyteries, and that *crimen ambitus*, or solicitation for the continuance of the commission, should be sufficient ground for its being taken away. All these arrangements having been made, it was ordained that the ministers throughout the kingdom should, in general terms, intimate, that the vote in parliament had been fixed by the Assembly, and that none should speak against it. *

1600. March.

This assembly may be considered as having introduced a new form of ecclesiastical polity, and as thus marking an epoch in the history of the church of Scotland. Instead of the parity for which Melvil, in conformity with the principles which he had embraced at Geneva, had strenuously contended, and which he had successfully established, there was recognized an order of ministers, who, in addi-

Remarks upon the altered form of ecclesiastical polity.

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 482—500; he has given a very full statement of the reasoning which took place. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 543. Row's MS. Hist. p. 78—82. There were 51 voters from the clergy. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 76, 77. He had, notwithstanding the prohibition which has been mentioned, been elected a member of this assembly. The King, indignant at this, expostulated with him, and even endeavoured to terrify him by threats, when he, with his usual firmness, answered, "Sir, Take you this head, and cause cut it off, if you will; ye shall sooner get it than I shall betray the cause of Christ." Calderwood, p. 439, and 441, 442. Spottiswoode, p. 456. Petrie's Church History, Part III. p. 550—554. For the view

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tion to the pastoral office, had civil duties to perform, and were, consequently, in a different situation from the rest of their brethren. The system was one of pure representation. The commissioners were elected by the great body of the clergy, who were their constituents; were to be guided by their instructions in what related to the interests of the church; were responsible for their conduct in parliament; and could be removed from the place which they held, if they proved unfaithful, or were regarded as unfaithful to the trust which was reposed in them. Perhaps it was impossible to devise any better mode of giving to the clergy that influence in parliament, which, as the third estate, they had long possessed, and which, as forming a numerous and enlightened part of the community, and as having separate and important rights, it was, in various respects, desirable that they should possess; and, had the restrictions been rigorously enforced, there would have been no more danger of the clerical representatives usurping a permanent superiority over the rest of the ministers, than there is at this moment of the representatives of the people becoming totally independent of those by whom they are returned as members of the legislature.

taken of this assembly by High Church writers, consult Collier, Vol. II. p. 663, and Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 362, 363. It was ordained, by a convention of the estates, that the year 1600 should be held as commencing on the 1st of January. The 25th of March was, before this, the beginning of the year, which should be kept in view in consulting old authors.

The whole circumstances connected with this change in the discipline or constitution of the church, and the nature of the change itself, shew most strikingly what was the opinion of a vast majority of the inhabitants of Scotland with respect to an ecclesiastical establishment. By the imprudence of the too violent leaders of the Presbyterian ministers, they had lost, in a considerable degree, the confidence which they had long possessed, and the King, profiting by their errors, had acquired an influence over the church which he had never before enjoyed. That it was his anxious wish to restore prelacy, his conduct plainly evinces,—yet, what was the result of his interference, and of that readiness to coincide with him, in as far as they believed that they could conscientiously do so, which the commissioners appointed by the Assembly manifested? Far from being able to prevail upon them to restore even the modified form of Episcopacy, which had been introduced by the convention at Leith, they displayed the utmost aversion to any essential distinction amongst ministers; and though they conceded the vote in parliament, they preserved the fundamental maxims of that Presbyterian polity to which they had ever been warmly attached. This should have suggested to James the line of policy which it was prudent to pursue. He must now have been satisfied, that he could depend upon the loyalty of the church, and that he could effectually remove the practices which were inconsistent with

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the dignity and the security of his government; he should therefore have, with the utmost tenderness, consulted the feelings, or, as he regarded them, the prejudices of his people, and given unequivocal proof, that, in return for their support of his throne, they would find him the zealous champion of their religious liberty, and the watchful guardian of the ecclesiastical constitution, which their conviction of its conformity to the word of God rendered it to them a sacred duty to defend. Had he thus acted, he would have gained the affections of his subjects,—he would have seen himself surrounded by men actuated by the firm and chivalrous loyalty by which the Scotish nation had for ages been distinguished,—and he would not only have increased the comfort of his own reign, but would have prevented those numberless calamities which afterwards spread misery throughout Britain. Had he, instead of shewing, with pedantic and ridiculous affectation, his learning and his eloquence, examined his situation with that measure of coolness and penetration of which his moderate talents were capable, he must have become sensible, that what could not be obtained by gentleness, from men anxious to serve him, it would be in the highest degree dangerous to extort by oppression,—that he might turn public feeling into the channel from which he had diverted it, and again create that resolute opposition, which, arising from religious principle and a strong sense of the importance of freedom, may by force be ex-

tinguished, but while it exists, can never lose sight of the objects which it labours to secure. The King adopted very different sentiments. Deluded by the idea that Episcopacy is essential to a monarchical government, an idea which experience now unites with reason in shewing to be unfounded, he evinced his anxiety that it should be raised on the ruins of Presbytery; and there resulted from this all the unfortunate consequences, which an enlightened statesman might, long before they occurred, have with confidence anticipated. * 1600.

Towards the end of the summer took place that mysterious incident, which was represented as a conspiracy of the accomplished Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, against the life of the King. After all the labour and ingenuity which have been employed to throw light upon this part of the Scotish history, it is still involved in darkness, and it is perhaps now vain to hope, that, amidst contradictions and impossibilities, the truth will ever be ascertained. It belongs not to this work to enter upon a subject which has been minutely discussed by so many of our historians. It is here introduced because it illustrates the state of opinion amongst some of the most respectable of the ministers, from the part which they acted when they were called to acquiesce in its reality. † Gowrie's conspiracy. 8th Aug.

* Bishop Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 7, duodecimo edition, Edinburgh, 1753.

† The Reverend Mr Scott, at Perth, the author of the Lives of

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1600.

6th Aug.

The escape of James, after the murder of Gowrie and his brother, was heard with the delight which loyalty naturally excited, and the privy-council immediately issued an order to the clergy of Edinburgh to assemble their congregations, and, after having informed them of what had happened, to give thanks to God for his Majesty's miraculous deliverance from so vile a treason. The order was issued to them by the chancellor; but the disposition of mind which late events had produced probably rendered them not averse from dwelling upon the many improbable and contradictory circumstances of the story which they heard; and Bruce, in his own name, and that of his brethren, replied, that they were not certain of the treason, but that they would, in general terms, bless God for his Majesty's deliverance from great danger, or, if time was granted for ascertaining the fact of treason, they would then gladly proclaim it, and the guilt of those by whom it had been meditated. With this proposal the council was not satisfied, and the lords having in vain urged compliance with what they conceived to be the mandate of the King, fixed upon David Lindsay, who had just returned from Falkland, and had heard the detail given by James, to officiate upon the solemn occasion of thanksgiv-

the Scotish Reformers, intimated to me, that from records to which he had obtained access, he had formed a satisfactory account of this transaction; but his account, although read to the Antiquarian Society at Perth, I have not seen.

ing. He told the people what he had learned at Falkland; and when he proceeded to offer thanks, the multitude uncovered joined with him, moved by the striking scene, and by the statement which had been made to them. In a few days the King having come to Edinburgh, called the ministers before him, and, enraged that they would not believe what there did not appear to them sufficient evidence to warrant, they were removed till the council prepared the sentence to be pronounced against them. That sentence prohibited them from preaching within his Majesty's dominions, under pain of death, and ordered them in forty-eight hours to remove from Edinburgh, subjecting them to capital punishment, if they came within ten miles of the city. This severity overcame the fortitude of three of the ministers, and they made their submission; but Bruce persisting, with unshaken uprightness, not to declare from the pulpit what he was not persuaded to be true, was banished from Scotland, and withdrew for some time into France. *

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1600.

Aug. 12.

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 501—504. Calderwood in his MS. History, Vol. V. p. 390—414, and p. 416—424, gives a very particular account of the whole of this affair, and of the conduct of the ministers of Edinburgh, most of which is inserted by Wodrow, Vol. I. folio, in his life of Bruce, p. 39—48. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. XIV. quarto, in life of Balcanquall. Spottiswoode, p. 460—462. Calderwood's printed History, p. 442—446. That the ministers were not singular in their judgment is abundantly proved. Calderwood, in his MS. begins his account by remarking, "The Earl of Gowrie and his brother were slain at Perth, for attempting a conspiracy against the King, as was alleged, but not believed by many." Even Spottis-

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1600. A Parliament. Nov. 15.

Parliament met about the middle of November, and several of the ministers elected as commissioners, but invested by the King with the title of bishops, took their seats. If any doubt was entertained respecting the reality of the conspiracy, by the members of this Assembly, it was anxiously concealed; for, in one of their first acts, the existence of a design to murder the King was positively asserted; a day of annual thanksgiving for the safety of the commonwealth, preserved from ruin by the miraculous and bountiful deliverance of his Majesty from treason, was appointed to be observed; and that nothing which could flatter him might be wanting, it was ordained, that all work, labour, and other occupations which might in any way distract the people from the godly exercise enjoined, should be laid aside. The Earl of Gowrie and his brother were denounced as having been traitors, their estates were confiscated, and the name of Ruthven all were forbidden to use. *

Some acts in favour of the church and against Popery were renewed, probably to convince the people or the clergy, that the King was zealous in the cause of true religion; and that he did not in-

woode admits, that many doubted of the truth of the conspiracy; and Bishop Burnet in the history of his own times, Vol. I. p. 22, says, "that it was not easy to persuade the nation of the truth of the conspiracy." For the banishment of Bruce, see Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 434.

* Calderwood, p. 446, and MSS. Vol. V. p. 433, 439. Murray's collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 365.

tend, by the introduction of the representatives of the church into Parliament, to give any countenance to the enemies of the Protestant faith, or to undermine the ecclesiastical polity which had been established. Indeed, till his accession to the English throne, James occasionally affected to shew upon these points a marked deference to the opinions of his subjects, in as far as he could do so, without sacrificing the arrangements which he anxiously promoted. Accordingly, in the two Assemblies which were held between this period and his leaving Scotland, he permitted complaints against the prevalence of Popery, and suggestions for restraining it, to be addressed to him; and, at the Assembly of this year, which met at Burntisland, after discoursing upon the duty of good kings, to make and execute salutary laws, and confessing his own negligence, he solemnly vowed, holding up his hands to heaven, that he would faithfully administer justice, defend religion, and discredit all who should endeavour to make him neglect the one, or injure the other. *

Many of the clergy discontented.

But notwithstanding the decisions of Parliament, and the professions of the sovereign, many of the clergy were discontented, and viewed with much

* MS. life of James Melvil, p. 509. Calderwood, p. 456. Row's MS. History, p. 62. Petrie's Church History, p. 560. For the transactions of the two Assemblies which met in 1601, 1602, Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 444, 445, and p. 499—531, or the Buik of the Universal Kirk, may be consulted.

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suspicion the policy adopted by James, with regard to the church. The mandate of council restraining the ministers of Edinburgh from preaching within Scotland, was considered as a direct violation of the ecclesiastical constitution, which the sovereign had recognized; and James Melvil expatiated upon this subject in a letter, which, being detained from attending by sickness, he addressed to the General Assembly. * Davidson also, in a letter to the same Assembly, alluding to the vote in Parliament granted to the ministers, thus expressed himself: "Is it time for us of the ministry to be inveigled and blindfolded with pretence of preferment of a small number of our brethren, and that not to stand so much in the ordinance and election of the church, as at the pleasure of the court, to have vote in Parliament, to ride with fool mantles, to have the titles of prelacy, and so ourselves to prepare for that hierarchy, which the Papists intend with speed to enjoy." † The severity with which Andrew Melvil, who was revered by the church, was uniformly treated, his exclusion from Assemblies, the jealousy with which his discourses were watched, and the harshness with which his unguarded expressions

* MS. Life of James Melvil, p. 505—509, where his letter is inserted.

† Calderwood's MS. Vol. V. p. 448, and printed History, p. 447—450. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Davidson, p. 35. This letter is inserted in the appendix to the Life of Davidson. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. quarto.

were punished, convinced numbers not only that he was the object of dread, but that schemes were in agitation, which he would encounter with the most energetic opposition, and with popular eloquence, which might rouse the slumbering zeal of the community, and again procure for him that decided command of the public mind, which he had once possessed. * 1603.

Yet this spirit of dissatisfaction led to no important result. The authority of the King many wished rather to enlarge than diminish, influenced in a great degree by the prospects which were now opening to him, and which were soon realized. Amidst his negotiations to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom, and in his estimation to emancipate the sceptre from the control of the clergy, he naturally looked towards the English throne, which, from the increasing infirmities of Elizabeth, it was apparent would soon be filled by a new monarch. Historians have minutely recorded the measures which he followed to secure the succession, the pliancy with which he accommodated himself to all who could promote his elevation, and the jealousy with which Elizabeth long regarded his conduct. She was now, however, arrived at a period, when the splendour of royalty is discerned to be vanity, and, at the earnest solicitation of her courtiers, she

James directs his views to the English throne.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. fol. in Life of Melvil, p. 77. Calderwood, p. 459 and 469.

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named the King of Scots as her heir to the sovereignty. She then fixed her thoughts on God, and soon after in tranquillity expired. *

1603. March 24.

Her character as a Sovereign.

Thus terminated the life of one of the most illustrious sovereigns who ever sat upon the English throne. Possessed of a vigorous and comprehensive mind, she discerned the true interests of her kingdom, and she steadily promoted them. Admirable as were her talents, she did not trust solely to her own judgment; but whilst she guided the councils of the nation, she availed herself of the political sagacity, of the acquaintance with human nature, and of the profound knowledge by which many of her ministers were eminently distinguished. In every season of alarm and of danger, the greatness of her mind, and the dignity of her character, were strikingly displayed; and although she ruled with absolute sway,—although she pressed severely upon some of her conscientious subjects, who could not conform to the ceremonies which she introduced, or which she retained in the services of the church, she was beheld with veneration by her people, and was regarded throughout Europe as the strenuous defender of the Protestant faith.

* Spottiswoode, p. 471. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 669. Rapin's History of England, Vol II. p. 155. Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, p. 1317. Guthrie, in his History of Scotland, Vol. VIII. p. 394, 395, expresses some doubt whether Elizabeth named James as her successor. Robertson's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 289.

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Towards Scotland, however, she acted a part of mean dissimulation, in every way unworthy of her. Long possessed of influence over that kingdom, greater, perhaps, than was enjoyed by its own monarchs, she did not employ it to extinguish contention, and to promote civilization and happiness; but she fomented dissensions, which humanity should have been eager to compose, increased the virulence of faction, and the violence of sedition, rendering a country, which she might have raised in the scale of nations, the theatre of internal war, and a scene of devastation and wretchedness. Of the cruelty and injustice with which she acted towards the unfortunate Mary, enough has been said. From whatever cause this originated, whether from mistaken views of policy, or from the weakness of female jealousy, it casts the darkest shade over the virtues which she undoubtedly possessed, and will be condemned whilst feeling and amiable affection are cultivated amongst men. *

The King leaves Scotland.

Immediately after her dissolution, James was proclaimed King of England; and the privy-council dispatched Sir Charles Percy and Thomas Somerset, to intimate to him the death of Elizabeth, and the alacrity with which they had announced his suc-

* It does not belong to this work to exhibit a full view of the character of Elizabeth,—the slight sketch of her public character which is here presented, has been taken from what has been said of this illustrious princess in this history, and in that of the Reformation in Scotland.

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1603. cession to the throne. The messengers, however, were anticipated by the officious speed of Sir Robert Carey, who, eager to convey intelligence so gratifying and so full of interest, escaped from the palace, and reached Scotland a few hours before the bearers of the official communication. James received the account of this splendid accession to his greatness with strong inward emotion, but with external composure; and he took immediate steps for removing to England. Ever fond of exhibition and of displaying his eloquence, he delivered, in the high church, an oration to the people of Edinburgh, in which he made the strongest professions of his tender regard for their happiness; and solemnly assured them, that he would not change the ecclesiastical polity to which they were attached *. Having completed his arrangements, he commenced his journey, accompanied by the Duke of Lennox, several of the most illustrious of the nobility, and a considerable number of the clergy. Amongst these was Spottiswoode, who had deserted from the Presbyterians, whom he had once keenly supported, and who was rewarded by being, in the course of their progress, nominated to be Archbishop of Glasgow, in room of the Popish Archbishop Bethune, whose death was intimated to the King. † When James was passing through Had-

April 3.

April 5.

* Row's MS. History, p. 87. Calderwood, p. 472. Petrie's Church History, p. 567.

† Of Spottiswoode's coalescence with the Presbyterians, some in-

dington, some of the ministers belonging to the Synod of Lothian, addressed to him a petition, one part of which related to the preservation of the discipline which had been introduced into the church. This he promised, desiring them to shew their brethren, that he wished them to keep unity and peace, without altering any thing concluded in the Assemblies where he had been present, for that it was not his intention to make any farther innovation. * CHAP. IX. 1603.

He was delighted with the attentive loyalty displayed by his new subjects in the different places through which he passed. They crowded around him, expressed their satisfaction at his accession, and poured forth their earnest wishes that his reign might be prosperous and happy. He entered London on the seventh of May, and was received with the most gratifying testimonies of respect and attachment; and, in the following July, he was with his Queen solemnly crowned, the Archbishop of Canterbury performing the ceremony. †

stances have been given. In Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under the Life of Robert Pont, it is mentioned, that, at a conference of ministers which took place in 1599, where some compliance with the King was urged by David Lindsay, who was father-in law to Spottiswoode, the future primate said, "Let us not seek worldly ease with the loss of the liberty of Christ's kingdom,"—a remark which brought the brethren of the ministry to have a good liking of him.

* Calderwood, p. 473, and Petrie, as last quoted.

† Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 158, 159. Spottiswoode, p. 473—477. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 671. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 573.

CHAPTER TENTH.

Views of Religious Parties in England in consequence of the Accession of James to the Throne....Of the Roman Catholics....Of the Puritans....Of the Clergy attached to the Established Discipline and Ceremonies....The King declares for the Church....Conference at Hampton Court....Dissatisfaction of the Puritans....Proclamation.....Discontent in Scotland.....King's Speech at the opening of Parliament...Measures with respect to Scotland.....Advice of the Synod of Fife.....Remarks upon it....Scotish Parliament.....Anxiety of the Ministers for a General Assembly.....Assembly at Aberdeen.....Proceedings which took place.....Important object contemplated by the Ministers.....Violent and unjustifiable measures adopted against them by the Government....Proclamation....Trial and condemnation of the Chief Ministers who attended the Assembly....The King resolves on a conference respecting the Church of Scotland....Invites some of the Ministers to London.... They have no hope from the conference.....Parliament in Scotland.....Protestation of the Ministers.....Scotish Ministers arrive in London.....Ordered to attend the King's Chapel, in which Bishops are appointed to preach in support of Episcopacy....Conference....Ministers treated with cruelty....Their appearances before the Council....They are not permitted to return to Scotland....Fate and Character of the Melvils....Indignation excited in Scotland....Impolicy of the severity

shewn to the Ministers....Not counteracted by the conduct of the Bishops.

CHAP. X.

1603.

Views of religious parties in England at the accession of James. Of the Catholics.

THE accession of James to the throne was beheld with anxious feelings by various classes of his subjects in England. The Catholics, ever watchful over the interests of their religion, and eager to restore to it the exclusive influence which it had formerly possessed, flattered themselves that the King, descended from ancestors devoted to the Popish faith, and from a mother, who, in the most trying circumstances, had with unshaken constancy adhered to that faith, would view them in a much more favourable light than they had been regarded by Elizabeth; and they were probably strengthened in that opinion from several parts of his administration in Scotland, particularly from his having, as was often asserted, and by many confidently believed, addressed to the Pope himself a most gracious and respectful letter. *

Of the Puritans.

The Puritans looked to James with hopes no less sanguine. After the termination of the reign of Mary, so fatal to the steady friends of the reformation, there arose a party in England which, warmly attached to the doctrines and sentiments of the

* Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 159. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Bruce, p. 36. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 3, 4. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 56. Calderwood, p. 427. He has inserted the letter, beginning Beatissime Pater. See also his MSS. Vol. V. p. 332—335.

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first Protestants, were desirous to deviate still farther from the abuses of Popery than had been done by the celebrated divines, who, under the amiable Edward, laid the foundation of the English church. This party consisted chiefly of those who had, in foreign countries, taken refuge from persecution, and who, from their intercourse with learned men in these countries, had been deeply impressed with the importance of abandoning whatever, from association, might preserve the errors which had been abjured. When these men first attracted the notice of Elizabeth or her government, their requests, supported by sound reason, were not mingled with the spirit of faction, for they had no wish to injure the established church, or to withdraw from its communion; they merely solicited that, in performing their pastoral office, they might be dispensed from using certain garments and certain rites, which, from having in Popish times been revered as possessed of some inherent sanctity, might withdraw attention from the sublime truths which it was their duty to illustrate and enforce. But the Queen was little disposed to listen to what she viewed as indicating any tendency to resist her authority, and, without reflecting what might be the consequences of irritating men guided by principle, or without adverting to the cruelty of dooming to severe suffering some of the most pious and exemplary of the clergy, she proceeded against them with a rigour which could not have been exceeded had

they denied the fundamental tenets of religion, or disgraced their profession by the most scandalous immorality. Elizabeth, although she often gave effectual support to the Protestant religion, and checked, upon every occasion, within her own dominions, the turbulence and the machinations of its opponents, delighted in a pomp of worship and a splendour of ceremonial observance, which it is difficult to reconcile with the simplicity and spirituality of the Gospel; and in this she was confirmed by the clergy, who, forgetting the tolerant maxims of Christianity, urged the necessity of enforcing the strictest conformity to whatever ecclesiastical regulations it was judged proper to enjoin. From the death of Mary, till the civil commotions which laid prostrate the throne and the church, the Puritans, as they were denominated, were exposed to persecution; and it is impossible, when comparing their sufferings with their tenets, not to be astonished at the infatuation which doomed to poverty and contempt men whose lives and whose writings have long since procured for them the esteem and veneration of posterity.

This considerable part of the people of England daily increasing in numbers and in influence, hailed the succession of James as an event which would procure for them the indulgence that they had so long in vain solicited. He had been educated, they knew, in the strict discipline of the church of Scotland, which early took a benevolent in-

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terest in their situation; he had himself expressed his admiration of that ecclesiastical polity which banished the ceremonies, the continuance of which wounded their consciences; and, in the immediate prospect of ascending the throne, he had written several letters, giving them all the assurances which they could desire of his extending to them his favour. *

Of the clergy attached to the established discipline and ceremonies.

Although the clergy, who dreaded innovation, and considered the church as having happily avoided the extremes of the Scotish reformers, had, from the tenor of the King's publications, and from the correspondence which he had held for some time with Bancroft, the inveterate enemy of the Puritans, little reason to suspect that they had any thing to fear from the new monarch, they could not divest themselves of apprehension; and they sought, by every means, to ingratiate themselves with the King, that they might be secure of his support. †

The King declares for the church.

Their fears, however, were soon dissipated, and they had the satisfaction to perceive, that James would be no less eager than themselves in main-

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. fol. in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 74, 75. Strype's Annals, Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Burnet's History of the Reformation, Neal's History of the Puritans, and Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, may be consulted and compared for information respecting the Puritans.

† Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 358. Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 159. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 4. Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 167.

taining what they were so desirous to preserve.* He, indeed, with his accustomed openness of manner, early discovered what were his favourite opinions; and the bishops, by flattering his vanity, and professing the utmost veneration for his wisdom, confirmed him in the idea, that the stability of his throne depended upon his keeping entire the hierarchy, which he contemplated with admiration. Forgetting the maxims which Buchanan had inculcated, when he endeavoured to form his youthful mind, the King had long entertained high notions of the absolute power of monarchs, and of the duty of subjects implicitly to obey, whilst he conjoined with these a firm persuasion, that he was as distinguished by his learning and eloquence, as by the high station which had been assigned to him. The Scotish ministers directly opposed his sentiments respecting the unlimited extent of the prerogative, and they at least paid few compliments to his wisdom; for, while they professed the warmest loyalty, they remonstrated when they believed him to be wrong; and often, in vindication of their privileges, laid aside the submissive deference with which he wished to be approached. In England, he was delighted to find, that very different maxims and practices were avowed and followed. His courtiers and his bishops vied in zeal for the throne. Supported by the learning of the universities, they

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* Row's MS. History, p. 85, 86.

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1604. maintained, that monarchical government should be absolute, they listened with real or affected astonishment to the orations which he delivered, styling him the Solomon of the age, and, what perhaps was no less gratifying to him, they often, in addressing him, fell on their knees, paying him a degree of servile adulation, unworthy of their character, and presenting a striking contrast to the manly dignity of their brethren in Scotland. *

Conference at Hampton Court.

Gained by attentions which he could not resist, the King expressed his resolution to support the church of England as it had been established, declaring that he would make no innovation. That he might not however appear unwilling to listen to the supplications of his subjects, or perhaps, that he might make a public display of his talents, he appointed a conference to be held at Hampton Court, between the most eminent of the clergy who were hostile to any alterations, and the leading men amongst the Puritans. The conference took place in the commencement of the following year, but the manner in which it was conducted, plainly shewed, that nothing material would be conceded. On the first day, for the conference was protracted through several days, the King addressed the clergy who conformed, their opponents not being permitted to be present. In this speech, he assured them

1604. January.

* Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 160, and 168. Acta Regia, Vol. IV. p. 199, and 202. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 7, 8, and 19. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 673.

that he was convinced that the ecclesiastical government which he had found subsisting, was countenanced by heaven, and that he had no design to make any change. He took this opportunity of shewing how much he preferred the servile complaisance of his new courtiers to the stern manners of his former subjects. He congratulated himself, that he had by Divine Providence been at length brought into the land of promise, where religion was professed in its purity, and where he sat amongst grave, learned, and reverend men, not being now as formerly, a King without state and honour, in a place where order was banished, and beardless boys braved him to his face.

It is unnecessary minutely to detail the reasoning of the different divines, or to enumerate the minute alterations, which, to please the King, were adopted; alterations which left the abuses complained of by the Puritans in all their force. From the most authentic accounts of the conference, it is apparent, that whilst every advantage was given to the advocates for the purity of the established church, their adversaries were vexatiously interrupted, or treated with contempt, and the result was what was expected by those eager for reformation. James in the course of the discussions evinced his detestation of that Presbyterian discipline which he had repeatedly vowed to maintain. When Reynolds, the most able pleader for the Puritans, was insisting upon the propriety of the clergy hav-

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ing occasional meetings, the King interrupted him with these coarse and unguarded exclamations, "You aim at a Scotch presbytery, which agrees as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me, my council, and all my proceedings. Stay, I pray you, for one seven years, before you demand this of me." At the conclusion, he thus addressed his audience: "We have taken pains to conclude here a resolution for uniformity, and you will undo all by preferring the credit of a few private men to the peace of the church; this is the Scotish way, but I will have none of this arguing; therefore, let them conform, and that quickly too, or they shall hear of it; the bishops will give them some time, but if any are of an obstinate or turbulent spirit, I will have them forced to conformity." *

* Various accounts were published of the conference at Hampton Court, differing according to the opinions and prejudices of the writers. Collier, Vol. II. p. 673—682. Heylin in his History of the Presbyterians, p. 372, 373, and other authors of the same sentiments, refer to an account published by Barrow, Dean of Chester, while Pierce in his Vindication of the Dissenters, Neal in his history of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 10 and 21, and Calderwood, p. 474, represent that account as partial and inaccurate. A full and interesting account was sent to Scotland by Galloway, one of the ministers of that kingdom, who was present at the conference, and although Strype in his Annals objects to it as not giving a fair representation, yet there is every reason to confide in it, for Galloway mentioned in his letter to the presbytery of Edinburgh, inserted in Calderwood, p. 474, 475, that his copy had been revised by the King himself. See also Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 592—599.

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1604. Dissatisfaction of the Puritans.

The Puritans were highly dissatisfied with the manner in which the conference had been conducted, and with its termination. They styled it a mock conference, and they refused to abide by its decisions, because the ministers appointed to plead for them had not been of their own nomination; because the points in controversy had not been thoroughly debated, and several of them even not mentioned; and because the prelates had taken the liberty of interrupting at their pleasure those of the other side, doing this so flagrantly, that they had been checked by the King himself.*

Thus did James cast away an opportunity, which a wise Monarch might have improved to gain the affections of his subjects, to raise himself in the estimation of all friends of religious liberty, and to place the established church upon the sure foundation of the love and reverence of those who had entered into her communion. That by any concessions he could have extinguished the spirit by which the Puritans were guided, is indeed highly improbable. They had been accustomed to a freedom of inquiry which they would not have abandoned, and which probably would have led them to object to points and ceremonies, which at this time they did not scruple to approve, but still indulgence

* Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 21, 22, and Pierce, p. 154—157, compared with Collier, Vol. II. p. 683.

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would have softened their asperity, would have drawn from them promises of conformity, which might have rendered them cautious in stating new grounds of complaint, and many of them would have cordially espoused the cause of the church, and proved zealous and able defenders of her rights and tenets. In our days, the vast benefits resulting from toleration are so clearly discerned, and so happily experienced, that it is difficult to prevent amasement at the infatuation, which identified the attempt to force conformity with the truest political wisdom, an infatuation which ultimately overthrew a constitution that might with much ease have been preserved and improved.

Proclamation. 5th March.

The King, following out the sentiments which he had delivered at Hampton Court, issued a proclamation, which extinguished every hope that the Puritans might still have cherished. In this proclamation, he declared, "that though the doctrine and discipline of the established church were unexceptionable, and agreeable to primitive antiquity, he had nevertheless given way to a conference, to hear the exceptions of the non-conformists, which he had found very slender; but that some few explanations of passages had been given for their satisfaction; that therefore, he now required and enjoined all his subjects to conform to it, as the only public form established in this realm, and admonished them not to expect any farther alteration, because his resolu-

tions were, after mature deliberation, firmly established." *

1604. Discontent in Scotland.

The ministers of Scotland were deeply interested in the cause of the English Puritans, whom they considered as approaching to their own views and tenets, and as animated with the most fervent zeal against Popery. At all times suspicious of the King, they looked upon his conduct to the non-conformists as indicating his real sentiments, and they did not fail to shew what they thought when the account of the conference at Hampton Court was, by the care of Galloway, laid before them. After it was read in the presbytery of Edinburgh, there was for some time a profound silence. This was broken by James Melvil, who happened to be present, and who urged the members, "as Christian and brotherly love craved, to be grieved and touched with sorrow, with many godly and learned brethren in a neigbouring country, who having expected a reformation, were disappointed; admonishing them, that as the presbytery of Edinburgh had ever been the watch-tower of the church, and its ministers the chief watchmen, they should take heed that no contagion came from the English church. †

* Collier, Vol. II. p. 683, 684. Heylin's history of the Presbyterians, p. 374, 375. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 21, 22. This writer gives the substance of the proclamation, which I have taken from him, after comparing it with Collier and Heylin. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 163. Calderwood's History, p. 478.

† Calderwood, p. 478. In the University Library at Edinburgh,

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1604. King's Speech at the opening of Parliament.

Their alarm was soon increased by the declarations of the King, and the measures which he took with respect to Scotland. He summoned the English parliament by a mandate, which was thought to strike at the foundation of the constitution; and he displayed his eloquence, by delivering a very long speech, in which he explained his object in assembling it, and stated his opinion upon points, with

March 19. regard to which both prudence and dignity should have led him to be silent. After expressing his gratitude for the cordiality with which he had been welcomed to the throne, and proposing as a scheme naturally arising from the whole island acknowledging one sovereign, that England and Scotland should be united, he thus adverted to the religious state of his new subjects: "At my first coming, although I found but one religion, and that which, by myself, is professed, publicly allowed, and by law maintained, yet found I another sort of religion, besides a private sect, lurking within the bowels of this nation. The first is the true religion, the second the Popish, the third which I call a sect, rather than a religion, is the Puritans and novelists, who do not so far differ from us in points of religion, as in their confused form of polity and purity, being ever discontented with the present government, and impatient to suffer any superiority, which

there are three volumes of the Minutes of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, from 1586 to 1603, shewing how actively that judicatory interfered in the affairs of the church.

makes their sect intolerable in any well-governed commonwealth." Whilst he spoke with marked hostility against a large part of his Protestant subjects, he assumed a different tone when he introduced the adherents to the church of Rome. He then announced, that although he differed from them, yet he had never been violent or unreasonable in his profession. "I acknowledge, he added, the Roman church to be our mother church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions." He told parliament that he wished some overture to be made to it, for clearing the laws against Papists, in case they had in times past been further or more rigorously extended by judges than the meaning of the laws required, to the hurt of the innocent, as well as the guilty. He then took to himself the merit, how inconsistently with what he had said need not be pointed out, of being the decided enemy of persecution, appealing to the Catholics, if he had not embraced every opportunity of lightening their burdens.*

Nothing could be conceived more calculated than many of the declarations in this speech to fill the inhabitants of Scotland with the most painful ap-

* Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 164—167. Calderwood's History, p. 478, and MSS. Vol. V. p. 606—612. Collier, Vol. II. p. 686. Stowe's Annals, p. 837—844. Spottiswoode, p. 480, mentions the King's proposal of the Union, but takes no notice of what was said respecting the religious state of the kingdom. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 25, 26.

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prehension. The decided enmity manifested to the Puritans, and the strange and illiberal assertion, that they ought not to be tolerated in any well-regulated state, could not fail to agitate men who conjoined the cause of this proscribed party with the best interests of religion, and to suggest to them, that they themselves were not secure, when those differing less than they did from the church of England, were regarded in the light of enemies to society. The effect which thus was produced, was increased by the King's avowed tenderness for Popery. The zealous Presbyterians at all times suspected that he was cold in his attachment to the reformation,—they bewailed the countenance which he gave to its opponents,—they had often remonstrated with him upon this subject so nearly in these times affecting their comfort or their existence, and nothing had more powerfully contributed to establish their influence over the great body of the people, than the conviction that they stood between the religious freedom which was so highly valued, and that spiritual despotism which threatened its destruction. James had been aware of this, and he endeavoured, as we have found, to remove suspicion, by the most solemn appeals to Heaven, that he would defend the Presbyterian church. Yet he was no sooner emancipated from the control of the ministers than he threw aside the mask; and, in a laboured harangue, avowed the principles which he had so often affected to reject.

This must have destroyed all confidence in his honour, and all trust in his integrity;—it confirmed the Scotish clergy in what had before rested upon conjecture; and it naturally inclined them, and the multitudes who thought with them, to view, in the most unfavourable light, every act of his administration, to disregard his promises, to dread his tyranny, and to foster a spirit of discontent which, associated with religious zeal, appeared clothed in sanctity, and led to a vigour of opposition which else would not have existed.

Measures with respect to Scotland.

But the ministers were not left to infer, from general declarations, that they would soon have again to struggle with government, and again to mourn that their privileges and their polity would be rudely assaulted, or contemptuously wrested from them. The King soon commenced the attack; but they sustained it with the fortitude which resulted from the conviction, that what they defended was identified with the religion in which it was their glory and their happiness steadily to believe. In consequence of the scheme for uniting the two British kingdoms, a parliament was appointed to be held in Scotland for choosing commissioners to promote this great and salutary measure; but the General Assembly, which had been fixed for the end of July, was deferred till the ensuing year. This exercise of the prerogative was regarded as the commencement of hostility to the liberties or the existence of the Scotish church. The General

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1604. Assembly had uniformly been esteemed as the great channel through which all ecclesiastical arrangements should proceed; the clergy had contended with the utmost zeal for its being annually held, and this they conceived had been secured to them by the act which ratified the Presbyterian polity. Under this impression, notwithstanding the royal prohibition, the commissioners from the presbytery

July 31. of St Andrews attended at Aberdeen, on the day upon which, according to adjournment, it should have met; and when they found that they were not joined by their brethren, they did what lay in their power to preserve the rights of the church entire, by protesting, according to legal form, that they had appeared, and were ready to enter upon the business which should have been discussed, had the judicatory been constituted. * The fears of the ministers were not without foundation; for there can be little doubt, that James wished to conciliate his English subjects, and to procure their support to the plan of uniting his kingdoms by extending episcopacy to Scotland. He knew that the General Assembly would present the most formidable ob-

* Buik of the Universal Kirk. Calderwood's MSS, the details in which are given by Wodrow in his MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of John Forbes, p. 3—6. This life is a most interesting document, both from the facts which it contains, and the character of the admirable man to whose biography it is devoted. Baillie's Historical Vindication of the Church of Scotland, p. 53. Calderwood, p. 478, 479. Spottiswoode, p. 486. Collier, Vol. II. p. 688. Row's MS. Hist. p. 91.

stacle to this innovation, and he prorogued it under the hope that he would influence the commissioners appointed by it, and who retained their powers till these were surrendered to a new Assembly, to promote his views. * CHAP. X. 1604.

When it had been resolved to summon a Parliament for carrying the union into effect, the ecclesiastical commissioners who were entitled to vote, in conformity with the cautions, requested the advice of their brethren respecting the interesting points which might come under the deliberation of the estates; and the synod of Fife, influenced by the Melvils, and acting with that detestation of oppression, for which the Scotish ministers of this period deserve through all ages to be venerated, expressed the feelings of the great part of the community. The document is so important, and, taken in connection with subsequent events, throws so much light upon the religious and political history of Scotland, that, long as it is, its insertion cannot fail to be interesting: "Forasmuch as, by your missives directed to the presbyteries, we were warned to give in our advice to you before this proclaimed parliament, with regard to matters to be proposed concerning the good of the church; for discharging of that duty, we have set down, and sent to you in writing, by our commissioners, with all hearty sa- Advice of the Synod of Fife. April 8.

* Life of Forbes, in Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. p. 9, 10, and 17, of that Life; and Life of John Welsh, p. 10, 11.

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lutations in Christ, the following articles for our advice. 1. We thank God for the purpose of this union of these realms, as most desirable, in respect as already, by the profession of the gospel, they have been united in God these many years past, and now, by a special blessing of that same gospel of peace and union in Christ Jesus, they are come under a king, for graces and virtues incomparable; and therefore, we earnestly wish the same, by all good means and endeavours of all estates, particularly of the ecclesiastical, to be prosecuted even till it be effectuated, for the establishment and maintenance of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, which is the kingdom of true peace and union, working sure safety and firm welfare to all kings and kingdoms reigning and standing with Christ and in him. 2. Because the occasion of the treaty respecting the Union, so happily of God's good and great providence fallen out, is since the last General Assembly of the church in this realm, ye could therefore have no warrant, direction, or information, to treat of particulars concerning the same, yet we think you may, and should do this in general, in name of the said assembly, crave that the acts made by our parliaments in favour of the church should be ratified and confirmed, and then solemnly protest that nothing be done by way of commission or otherwise at this time, whereby any innovation, alteration, hurt, or prejudice may ensue, against the present right and possession of the doctrine, discipline, and

government of the church and kingdom of Jesus Christ within this realm, established by the word of God, confirmed by the laws of the country, briefly comprehended and published in the King's confession of faith, whereunto all his highness's subjects were moved with their King and sovereign lord, solemnly to swear, and which his Majesty, going to his prosperous promotion, most graciously vouchsafed it should enjoy peaceably and unaltered hereafter; and in case there be any thing done to the contrary, as God forbid, to protest that it is null and of no force in itself, in respect that neither the General Assembly was warned thereto, or had directed any commissioners thereanent.

3. That the old petition of the General Assembly be renewed, and so much the more at present urged, as the danger is greater, viz. that none vote in name of the church, and for the estates thereof in Parliament, who bear not office within the same, nor have any commission from it so to do; and if they be admitted to sit and vote, to protest it be not esteemed the vote and judgment of the church of Scotland.

4. Forasmuch as it is expressly provided that those of the ministers, who, in name of the church, are appointed to vote in parliament, shall not presume, at any time, in parliament, council, or convention, to propose any thing in name of the church without express direction and warrant from the same, neither shall keep silence in opposing, if

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they shall hear or perceive any thing uttered to her hurt or prejudice, under the pain of deprivation; therefore we think that ye should charge the said voters in parliament, in name of Christ and his church, so to do, under the pain of deprivation, and farther as Christ by his church may inflict; and to recommend to them the order and discipline of the church to be well considered, studied, and had in memory, that they may maintain, stand fast, and defend the same to the uttermost, remembering the account they must give to the General Assembly of the church within this realm, but particularly to Jesus Christ, at that general, great, and glorious parliament of his last appearance, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

Lastly, We most earnestly beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, yea, attesting and adjuring you, before God and his elect angels, as ye will make answer to that great Judge, to whom you must give an account of your stewardship, that ye, by these presents, inform and certify the commissioners who are to be chosen in this parliament, to treat upon this union for the part of the church, and so by them the King our sovereign, his most excellent Majesty, that we believe in our consciences instructed, cleared, and assured by the word of God, written in Holy Scripture, that the essential grounds of the discipline and government of the church and kingdom of Jesus Christ, established and in use within this realm of Scotland, is not a thing indifferent or al-

terable, but a substantial part of the Gospel, having the like warrant with any other point of our faith and religion, which to renounce, or pass from, we will esteem as hard as to renounce the manifest truth of God revealed to us in Scripture, yea harder than to suffer death; which expressly, by these presents, we protest and profess, choosing rather so to do now before-hand, for the ease and relief of our consciences, than too late hereafter when there may be, as God forbid, constitutions and laws made to the contrary." * CHAP. X. 1604.

In this powerful admonition there is no deficiency of loyalty. The members of the synod were evidently desirous to conciliate the King,—they had penetration and liberality to discern the wisdom of the measure which he had proposed,—and it is only astonishing that they could use such expressions of respect, and even admiration, in reference to a prince whose weakness they must have despised, whose insincerity they must have reprobated, and who, at this very moment, was, as they had every reason to believe, devising the ruin of that fabric of ecclesiastical polity, which they had, with such difficulty, raised. But while they speak Remarks upon it.

* Calderwood, p. 479—481. This striking paper I have, changing only a few words, now obsolete, copied from Calderwood. It was subscribed, in name of the Synod, by James Melvil, a man decided, indeed, in his sentiments, but esteemed, for a long time, even by the King, for his prudence and moderation. Row's MS. History, p. 89, and Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 614—617.

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of the King with all the reverence of the most dutiful subjects, they do not for a moment forget that what they owed to the political and religious liberty of their country, was more sacred than their duty to a monarch who was invading both, and they defend their cause by arguments which prudence should have led James most seriously and cautiously to examine. Recalling those solemn acts by which he had pledged his honour to defend the existing constitution of their church, they shewed, that a deviation from what he had promised would destroy the confidence without which the power of a King may be endured as a calamity, but can never be regarded as a blessing; asserting, that the great assembly of the nation had confirmed their spiritual privileges, they implicated their cause with that love of constitutional freedom, which, from the era of the Reformation, had been so ardently felt in Scotland; reminding the commissioners of the limits which had been set to their parliamentary functions, they evinced their determination to resist the introduction of the Episcopal order; and no longer resting their decision upon principles of expediency, they intimated, in a manner which rendered the intimation strikingly awful, that they would submit to death rather than stain their consciences by what they detested as impiety. However erroneous some of their positions may have appeared, and however much they may have been considered as inconsistent with the liberal and tolerant spirit of the First

Book of Discipline, they breathed a spirit which could not with safety be opposed,—which had already shaken the throne,—and which, there was sufficient cause to dread, might secretly acquire a force that no government could control or resist. Its effect, the effect which it should have had, was lost upon the King. Intoxicated with the delusive ideas of absolute sovereignty, and, in the complacency with which he listened to the flattering maxims of his prelates, satisfied, that, without a hierarchy, his sceptre would not possess the vigour which should belong to it, he pursued his resolution of new-modelling the Scotish church, and thus scattered the elements of those convulsions under which the throne of his unhappy son was destined to sink.

CHAP. X. 1604.

The parliament originally intended to be held in April was prorogued till the month of July, and it then, on account of a dreadful pestilence which had afflicted the kingdom, and which still raged in Edinburgh, met at Perth. Commissioners for conducting the treaty of union were named, and ample instructions were framed for the direction of their conduct. Amongst the number were three of the representatives of the church—Spottiswoode, who was entitled archbishop of Glasgow, and two others who were also styled bishops. This was in direct opposition to the resolution of the last assembly, and accordingly several of the members, supported by the Earl of Morton, wisely insisted, that to pre-

Scotish Parliament.

CHAP. X.

vent any evil consequences, there should be inserted in the commission a clause for preserving,

1604. in the event of the union taking place, the state of religion in doctrine and discipline. The proposal was resisted by the courtiers and by the new prelates, who, delighted with the pre-eminence which they had attained, cordially espoused the views of their sovereign; and, after an unavailing struggle, the friends of the Presbyterian polity were compelled to relinquish the insertion of the caution in the commission, and to rest satisfied with a general act, which is not amongst the printed acts, that the

Sept. Union should not be prejudicial to the church. *

It belongs not to this history to detail the causes which occasioned the failure of the scheme to unite the British kingdoms. The proceedings of the parliament held to effect it, increased the apprehensions of the zealous presbyterians, who, to prevent any decay of attachment to their cause, renewed, in many parts of the country, their subscription of the Confession of Faith; and a meeting of

Oct. the clergy was held, first at St Andrews, and then at Perth, to consider what measures the hazardous state of the church rendered it prudent to adopt.

* Calderwood, p. 481, 482. Row's MS. History, p. 90. Wodrow's MSS. in Life of Forbes, p. 9, 10. Murray's Collections of Acts of Parliament, p. 378, 379. Spottiswoode, p. 480, 481. He says, that the lords, spiritual and temporal, assembled by his Majesty's commission. This was surely too hastily anticipating the destruction of presbytery.

Several of the bishops attended at Perth; and, desirous to prevent any violent resolutions, they affected a tone of much moderation,—professed the highest reverence for the established polity,—declared that they should not transgress the cautions enacted by the Assembly, and spoke with the utmost respect of that judicatory. After warm discussion, several resolutions were adopted, and sent to the King by Straiton of Lauriston, his commissioner, who was present at the meeting, and was on his way to London. They petitioned his Majesty, that a General Assembly might be held with his concurrence, according to the act of parliament, and the custom of the church; that the godly and faithful ministers in England, persecuted by the bishops, might obtain his favour, and be permitted to enjoy their livings; and to these were added requests in relation to the Popish lords who had resisted the authority of the church, and to a suitable provision for the subsistence of the ministers. * 1604.

April. Nothing could be more remote from the intention of the bishops, than to advise the King to hold the Assembly for which they had petitioned, knowing, as they did, that they would receive no favour, and would be severely censured for the part which they had acted. They did not, however, at once

* Calderwood's MSS. and Printed History, p. 484—487. Row's MSS. p. 92—94. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Forbes, p. 7, 8.

CHAP. X.

throw off the mask; but they seem to have represented to his Majesty the expediency of not too quickly unfolding his intentions; for, in the beginning of the following year, when Forbes, afterwards so distinguished for his talents and his uprightness, and who had been sent to London to complain of the defiance of Huntly to the authority of the church, was admitted to an audience of James, he not only consented to warrant vigorous proceedings against that nobleman, but he declared his constancy in the religion in which he had been educated, and his firm resolution to maintain the order of the kirk of Scotland without making any alteration, authorizing Forbes to communicate these intentions to his brethren, and to assure them of the King's anxiety that they would adhere to the acts of parliament, and to the constitutions of the General Assemblies at which he had been present. *

1604.

Anxiety for a meeting of Assembly.

Yet, at the very time at which he was conveying by Forbes positive promises of his intentions to uphold presbytery, his agents were avowing his determination that a General Assembly should not be held; for when the synod of Fife, in consequence of a letter from James Melvil, were discussing the importance and necessity of convening that judicatory, Lauriston, who had returned from court, in-

April 30.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Forbes, p. 2. Row's MS. History, p. 94. Calderwood's History, p. 488.

timated to the members, that he had a positive instruction from the King that it should not take place. * CHAP. X. 1605.

Notwithstanding this intimation, which indeed, from not being official, was entitled to no regard, several of the presbyteries elected their representatives to the Assembly, which, by the mandate of adjournment last year, had been fixed for the beginning of July; upon which the commissioners of the church, and Lauriston, who represented the King in ecclesiastical judicatories, addressed a letter to the different presbyteries, desiring them to stay their brethren whom they had chosen, as the King would not consent to an Assembly till a parliament had been again summoned. The lateness of this notice, and the vague manner in which it was expressed, determined several of the ministers to pay to it no regard; and the council having published a charge, that the Assembly should not be held, Forbes consulted with the chancellor, who consented to recal the charge, upon a promise, that the Assembly should, at his request, be adjourned. † June 7.

* Calderwood's History, p. 489.

† Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Forbes, p. 10—12. Wodrow, in addition to various other documents, had before him, in composing the Life of Forbes, a work, probably written by that eminent minister himself, and entitled, "Records Touching the Estate of the Church of Scotland since the Reformation of Religion therein, till the Parliament holdin in Perth, Anno 1606." This MS. not only contains a full detail of all the proceedings with regard to the Assembly of 1605, but preserves the authentic official documents

CHAP. X.

1605. July 2. Assembly at Aberdeen.

Encouraged by the result of the conference between the chancellor and Forbes, about nineteen members, returned by nine out of fifty presbyteries, came to Aberdeen in the beginning of July. The smallness of the number has been stated as a decisive proof, that the great part of the ministers were averse from holding the Assembly; but there was some misunderstanding respecting the day of meeting, and several of the clergy, amongst whom was Welsh, afterwards so disgracefully persecuted, arrived after the Assembly had been dissolved.* It is, besides, to be recollected, that a numerous convention of the ministers was not desirable. They had no intention of passing any important acts,—the purpose of their coming together was solely to preserve their privileges, and, in as far as was consistent with these, to yield obedience to the King. Several of the most distinguished of the clergy, it is admitted, were present; and they conducted themselves with a moderation, yet with a firmness, which should have commanded the respect, rather than exposed to the resentment of government.

It was intended to constitute the Assembly on

which relate to it. Wodrow has inserted the substance of what is stated by this writer, often his words, and has, in his Appendix to the Life of Forbes, transcribed the documents. Spottiswoode, p. 486 and 495., Calderwood, p. 491. Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 54.

* Compare Spottiswoode, p. 487, with Calderwood, p. 491—493.

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1605. July.

the forenoon of the 2d of July, but from the singular severity of the weather, this was, with the concurrence of Straiton, delayed till the latter part of the day. He then produced a letter from the council, directed "To our trusty friends and brethren of the ministry, conveened in their General Assembly at Aberdeen," a title recognizing the lawfulness of their convention. The ministers justly observed, that, before they could receive the letter, they must take the usual steps for forming the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, and choose a moderator and clerk. Upon the suggestion of Lauriston, who declined being present at the election, lest any difference might afterwards arise, and his conduct in countenancing them be blamed, Forbes was chosen to preside, and the letter which requested them immediately to dissolve their meeting, without appointing another, was read. Although they were convinced that the situation of the church much required the interference and direction of a General Assembly, their anxiety not to oppose their sovereign, induced them, without hesitation, to resolve upon adjourning; but they could not, without tearing down their ecclesiastical polity, agree to do so, without fixing a day for a subsequent Assembly. They referred the nomination of this day to Lauriston, expressing their willingness to acquiesce in whatever time he might think would be most agreeable to the King. He now peremptorily insisted

CHAP. X. 1605.

upon their instantly dissolving, without nominating the time for reassembling, upon which they framed an act of adjournment till the 5th of September, and wrote to the council, explaining the motives by which they had been influenced. Lauriston probably at length saw that this resolute purpose of the ministers would not only give offence, but might expose himself to the resentment of the prelates, and through them of his Majesty; and to guard against this, he solemnly declared, that he had from the beginning considered the Assembly as illegal; he commanded the ministers by a proclamation to leave the city, and he afterwards affirmed, that, upon his arrival on the first of July, he had, in name of the sovereign, charged them upon pain of treason to disperse. Of the falsehood of this assertion, it is almost impossible to doubt. The ministers had never heard the charge, and they called upon him to produce any of the inhabitants of the town who were present when it was given. They said, what he could not deny, that when he was at their meeting, he never made the most distant allusion to the charge, which he would certainly have done, had his account been founded in truth; and the fact, that he even pointed out who should be elected as moderator, places himself amongst the most unexceptionable witnesses against his own veracity. The clergy having on their part protested that the Assembly was held upon the warrant of

the word of God, and agreeably to the laws of the kingdom, left the city. * CHAP. X.

1605. Important Object contemplated by the Ministers.

The point now at issue between the King and the great majority of his Scotish subjects, whose sentiments coincided with those of the ministers, was not merely what, at first view, it may appear, a matter of ecclesiastical regulation, of little importance to the community, or affecting only the privileges and the interest of the clergy, but it was a great constitutional question, involving in it the establishment of despotism, or the assertion of those noble principles of political freedom, upon which all government, entitled to the veneration and submission of rational beings, must rest. The church, identified at this period with the rights of the people, had obtained from the legislature certain powers and privileges, not extorted by force, but granted from the conviction that they were requisite for the peace and happiness of the kingdom; the statute conveying these privileges had not only been regularly sanctioned, but had for several years been acted upon as the law of the land. His Majesty, desirous to take them away, instead of having recourse to Parliament, and en-

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Forbes, p. 12—18, and Life of Welsh, p. 11. Row's MS. Hist. p. 95, 96. Calderwood, p. 492, and Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 54, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 487. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 688, and Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 382, 383. In the Life of Forbes, the most authentic and accurate information is contained, much of which is also to be found in the 5th volume of Calderwood's MS.

CHAP. X. 1605.

deavouring to obtain the repeal of a statute become obnoxious to him, issued an arbitrary mandate that it should be disregarded. Had the ministers tamely yielded to this, they would have recognized a dispensing, that is, an absolute power in the crown,—they would have contributed to subvert the liberty which was their birth-right, and would have subjected to the will of the monarch their most invaluable civil and religious blessings. There is perhaps no incident in the history of Scotland, which more strikingly than the one now recorded, branded as it has been by many writers as seditious or treasonable, shews the vast obligations which posterity owe to the defenders of the Presbyterian polity; because freedom was never in greater danger, and at no period would the slightest deviation from the manly principles disseminated by the reformation have more firmly shackled our country with the fetters of oppression.

Violent and unjustifiable conduct of Government.

Lauriston found that many of the prelates and commissioners of the church were highly offended that he had not absolutely prevented the Assembly; and when he returned to Edinburgh, anxious to avert their displeasure, and that of the King, who, he knew would be directed by them, he meanly misrepresented what had taken place at Aberdeen; he affected to feel the warmest indignation at the insult which the ministers had offered to the authority of their sovereign; he denounced them as guilty of rebellion; and the council, entering into his

views, determined to proceed against them, as having held what was now contemptuously denominated a convention. * CHAP. X. 1605. July 24.

Forbes, the moderator, who had come to Edinburgh, was first cited before the council, and, when he persisted in defending the lawfulness of the Assembly, he was confined in the castle. Next day, July 25. John Welsh, who for his rigid piety, and firm attachment to Presbytery, was held in high veneration, was, with four other ministers, called to answer before the same tribunal; and, as they also remained inflexible, they were sent with Forbes to the castle of Blackness. †

This violence was loudly and most justly condemned. The clergy communicated their own feelings to those whom they instructed, declaring, without reserve, that a plan had been formed, and was carrying into effect, for the complete subversion of the ecclesiastical constitution. This, indeed, every intelligent observer must have perceived; but the King, vainly imagining that his general assurances would efface impressions which the conduct of his government had so deeply fixed in the minds of his subjects, issued a proclamation, by which he authorized the meeting of an Assembly, and, after alluding to the rumours of his intentions, he in- Proclamation. Sept. 26.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Forbes, p. 17, 18. Calderwood, p. 494. Spottiswoode, p. 487.

† Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Lives of Forbes, p. 19, 20, and Welsh, p. 12. Row's MS. History, p. 96, 97.

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formed the inhabitants of Scotland, that whatever might be his opinion respecting the importance of
1605. both his kingdoms approaching as nearly as possible to a conformity in all things, he had no design of making any violent innovations, but to proceed with the utmost caution, guided by the evident advantage of the realm. This proclamation was sent
Oct. 24 to the imprisoned ministers, whose numbers had been increased, with the intention of removing their apprehensions, and of leading them to acknowledge that they had acted improperly; but when it failed in producing these effects, they were again required to appear before the council, that the punishment which they had justly incurred might be inflicted. When they were asked to make their defence, they declined the jurisdiction of the council, as the matter with which they were charged was purely ecclesiastical, and ought to be decided by the judicatories of the church. This declinature, as it was denominated, was not received, or no attention was paid to it; and they then, confident in the goodness of their cause, justified their conduct in a strain of energetic reasoning, which reflects the highest honour upon the soundness and vigour of mind, which Forbes, who took the chief burden of pleading, in an eminent degree possessed. * All their

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Forbes, p. 20—34, has given a most minute and interesting detail of the various proceedings with regard to the imprisoned ministers. In this work, I must confine myself to the leading particulars. Calderwood in his MS. Histo-

efforts, however, were insufficient to procure their release; they were remanded to prison; and the King, irritated by their declining the authority of the privy-council, and thus reviving a controversy, which, in the early part of his reign, had occasioned to him much uneasiness, commanded six of them, amongst whom were Forbes and Welsh, to be tried for treason. Upon the day of trial, they were cited before the justice depute, Sir William Hart, to whom several of the nobility and lords of the council were appointed as assessors, and the indictment was laid upon the act of the parliament 1584, relating to his Majesty's power over all estates; which act, it was stated, that the pannels, by declining the jurisdiction of the council, had traiterously violated. Much intreaty was used in private, to induce the ministers to withdraw the declinature. This they refused to do, and the trial having proceeded in a manner infamous to those by whom it was sanctioned, they were, notwithstanding the powerful and affecting speeches of Forbes, and of Welsh, found guilty of treason, and ordered to be detained in confinement till his Majesty's pleasure respecting the punishment to be inflicted on them should be ascertained. It ought to be recorded, however,

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1606. Trial and Condemnation of the chief Ministers who attended the Assembly. Jan. 10.

ry, Vol. V. and his printed work, has also given a very full account. With these writers should be compared Spottiswoode, p. 487—489, and Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 688. See also Row's MS. History, p. 97, 98; and Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 54, 55.

CHAP. X. 1606.

that although the most indecent means were employed to influence the jury,—although they were even threatened to be prosecuted as traitors, if they hesitated to bring in the verdict demanded by the servants of the crown,—six of the fifteen composing it voted that the ministers were innocent; and one of them nobly said, that he not only absolved them from the crime of treason, but regarded them as faithful servants to Christ, and good subjects to the King. *

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Forbes, p. 37—48, where there is a full and most interesting account of the trial, including the admirable speech, which, on the spur of the moment, was delivered by Forbes. Life of Welsh, p. 14—16. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. and printed history, p. 508—516. Spottiswoode, who, from the deep interest which he had in opposing the ministers, must be read with much caution, has very shortly stated what happened, p. 489, 490. Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 55, 56. Heylin, in his History of the Presbyterians, p. 383, 384. has most furiously attacked the conduct of the ministers. In the memorials and letters relating to the history of Britain, in the reign of James the First, published from the originals by Lord Hailes, there is a most interesting letter respecting this trial, addressed to the King by his advocate Sir Thomas Hamilton, on the day upon which the sentence was passed. Memorials, &c. p. 1—4. In this letter, Hamilton mentions the difficulties with which he had to struggle, in procuring the condemnation of the pannels, and the infamous methods which he employed, expressing, at the same time, his earnest wish that no more such cases should be submitted to trial. Lord Hailes most justly adds the following note, so naturally proceeding from a learned and upright Judge: "This letter gives a more lively idea of those times, than an hundred chronicles can do. We see here the prime minister, in order to obtain a sentence agreeable to the King, address the judges with promises and threats, pack the jury, and then deal with them without scruple and ceremony. It is also evident, that the King's Advocate disliked the proceedings

The opinion of this upright minority was the opinion of the kingdom, and the council, knowing the fact, shewed their ignorance of human nature when they attempted to counteract the feelings which had been excited. They published a proclamation forbidding any in public, or even in private, from uttering slanderous speeches against the King, the council, or the justice, for trying and punishing the ministers guilty of holding a convention at Aberdeen, with certification, that all who disobeyed should be punished as seditious persons, and wilful contemners of his Majesty's most just and lawful government. * 1606. 5th Feb.

The severity with which the unhappy ministers were treated, the harsh sentence pronounced against them, and the melancholy fate to which, by that sentence, they were subjected, filled moderate men with abhorrence; and the King, constitutionally averse from cruelty, and dreading every approach to political convulsion, seems to have hesitated as to the part which it was wise for him to act. He at length, before deciding as to the ministers, determined that a conference should be held in his own presence, with a view to restore harmony;—induced to this, partly by his eagerness to display, upon every possible occasion, his knowledge and

The King resolves on a conference respecting the church of Scotland.

as impolitic and odious, but that he had not resolution to oppose them." Row's MS. History, p. 107, 108.

* Calderwood, p. 517, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 490. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Forbes, p. 51.

CHAP. X.

1606.

his eloquence,—partly by the hope that the learning of the English divines would overwhelm the humble Scotish pastors,—and partly, perhaps, by his anxiety to unite his Protestant subjects, whom the discovery of the gun-powder plot towards the

May.

conclusion of the former year, led him at this time to regard as most devoted to his government, or most zealous to protect his person.*

He invites some of the ministers to London.

He accordingly addressed a circular letter to eight of the most respectable ministers, Andrew and James Melvil, James Balfour, William Watson, William Scott, John Carmichael, and Adam Cole. In it he expressed his anxiety to preserve that peace in the church which had been established when he left Scotland,—enumerated the measures which he had taken for that purpose,—dwelt upon the opposition which he had encountered from the clergy,—opposition which, aggravated by the obstinacy of those who had been guilty of it, had compelled him to take more rigorous steps than his inclination suggested, though more lenient than the persons to whom he alluded had merited,—and he concluded by telling them, that this, and various other weighty reasons, having influenced him, he saw good to command them, without fail, to come to London

* Andrew Melvil, sharing in the joy which the discovery of this plot excited in the friends of the Reformation, wrote a poem, which he entitled, "In Jesuiticum pulveris sulphurici conatum," and which is printed in the second volume of the collection denominated Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum. Melvil was considered as an eminent poet.

before the 15th of September, that on that day he might begin with them, and such others of their brethren as he knew to possess learning, judgment, and experience, and whom he had also ordered to attend, to treat concerning the peace of the church of Scotland, and to make his constant and unchangeable favour to the members of that church so manifest, that they might be bound in duty and conscience to conform to his godly meaning. In his usual style, he took great praise to himself for his condescension, and he plainly intimated what consequences would follow, if the conference did not terminate agreeably to his royal pleasure. *

They have no hope from the conference. June.

The ministers who received this invitation met in Edinburgh to consider what resolution they should adopt. From the tenor of the letter they had no hope that any good effects would result from the conference; they persisted in this opinion notwithstanding some private assurances that the case would be otherwise; and they were confirmed in it by the transactions of the parliament which soon after was held in Perth. They besought the Earl of Dunbar to prevail upon the King not to insist upon their going to London; but he was so urgent that they should not hesitate about compliance, that they resolved, after having attended the meeting of the

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 964, and printed History, p. 518, 519. Row's MS. History, p. 99. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 79.

CHAP. X.

estates, to undertake a journey of which they had cause deeply to repent. *

1606. Parliament. 9th July.

The parliament having assembled, it passed various acts, calculated to introduce despotism, and to reestablish the order of bishops. The act respecting the King's prerogative invested him with powers totally incompatible with the existence of a free government, and the disgustingly flattering language in which this humiliating surrender of liberty was made, shews that there was a determination to make every sacrifice which the sovereign required. The design of the act was to destroy the claim urged by the ministers in favour of an ecclesiastical jurisdiction distinct from the civil; and that this object might be more thoroughly carried into effect, there was published, in the following year, the form of an oath, which the council had it in their power to impose, and which exacted an acknowledgement of the King as supreme governor in the kingdom, over all persons, and in all causes. An act was also passed for restoring the estate of bishops. Although James had given the titles of archbishop and bishop to those of the ministers whom he promoted to the ancient sees, yet, from the revenues of these sees having been surrendered to the laity, or annexed to the crown, they had not the means of supporting their dignity, and this evil the statute now mentioned was intended to remove.

* Row, as last quoted. Calderwood, p. 519, 520.

It accordingly reversed the act of annexation which some years before had been sanctioned by the legislature, and thus all that part of the patrimony of the bishops which had been conveyed to the sovereign, was restored to them, and precautions were taken that it should not, by leases, or in any other way, be in future diminished. The immense grants, however, which, after the Reformation, had been made to the barons, and the extensive estates which they had, contrary to all law and justice, appropriated, were not affected;—the legislature stamped its seal of rightful possession, upon what, under other circumstances, it would have forfeited, as obtained by robbery;—and the richest portion of the inheritance of the church was irrevocably torn from her. * 1606.

Protestation of the ministers.

The ministers, who had been informed of what was intended to be done in parliament, assembled in great numbers at Perth, and protested against what they justly considered as the civil establishment of episcopacy, reasoning with much force in defence of the presbyterian polity, and upon the danger of making any innovation in the constitution of the church. They found, however, that they had now lost the influence from which, in other days, such mighty effects had resulted, and that

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 380—385. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 881, and printed History, p. 531, 532. Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 32, 33. Spottiswoode, p. 496.

CHAP. X. 1606.

eagerness to comply with the measures of the court had weakened the zeal of numbers who had once strenuously supported the discipline which they did not hesitate to attack. They were therefore compelled to submit to what they could not prevent, and they made no attempt, by stirring up any commotion amongst the people, to interrupt the public tranquillity, or to intimidate the estates.* They did not, however, conceal their dissatisfaction, but they wrote and published what they entitled a verification of their protestation, in which their views were fully disclosed, and their tenets powerfully enforced. This is apparent from the conclusion of the paper, which relates to the subserviency of the bishops to a despotic prince:—"If any succeeding prince please to play the tyrant, and govern, not by laws, but by his own will and pleasure signified by missives, articles, and directions, they shall never admonish him as faithful pastors, for such they are not, having no lawful calling and authority from God and his church; but as they are made up by man, they will flatter, pleasure, and obey men. As they stand by the prince's affection, so they will by no means jeopard their standing, but be readiest of any to put his will and pleasure in execution,

* Calderwood, p. 520—532, has given a very ample account of the conduct of the ministers, and has inserted the protestation which they offered to the estates. That protestation was also printed in 1608, and prefixed to a Treatise on Kirk-Government, and some other papers. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Melvil, p. 79.

suppose it were to apprehend, imprison, or banish such as stand for the freedom and the laws of the realm. Unless men, of whatsoever rank and degree, give them their styles, places, and salutations, they shall not miss to be crossed by them in their affairs, and traduced at court by them or their means. Their company and train shall be an example of riot and excess. The bishop, in his own city, and amongst his vassals, will think himself a petty king. Who dare deny to lend, give, or serve him with whatsoever they have? If he do, cannot they, and their lawyers, domestics, and dependents, devise a way how to draw him within danger of the laws, and then his estate falling in the bishop's hand, he shall certainly be pilled and polled. Finally, it is already too manifest, that if the prince be prodigal, or would enrich his courtiers by taxations and imposts laid upon his subjects, who have been, or shall be so ready to satisfy his desire in parliament as those who are set up for that and like service?" This observation was occasioned by the zeal with which the bishops had, in this parliament, supported the proposal of a heavy tax upon the kingdom. * Although these remarks display an ardent zeal for civil liberty, they rest upon a principle assumed, and uniformly avowed by the King, that if there was no bishop there would be no monarch,—a maxim to which his son fatally adhered. It is certain, however, that there is no inseparable

* Calderwood, p. 536 and 532.

CHAP. X. 1606.

connection between a hierarchy and despotism, for the British constitution, watchful as it is over the rights of the people, recognized the episcopal order, and an acquaintance with the history of the last century, and the conclusion of the one which preceded it, must satisfy every impartial mind, that many of the bishops were strenuous in defending the wisest and most enlarged principles of political freedom. Yet, whilst this concession is made, it must at the same time not be concealed, that the opinion of the Scotish ministers may often claim the support of experience, and that, in as far as relates to Scotland, it has been fully and awfully confirmed.

August. Scotish ministers arrive in London.

The Scotish divines who had been summoned to London arrived in the metropolis before the end of August. In some of the arrangements made with regard to them, the King shewed the most lamentable ignorance of human nature. Knowing how firmly they were convinced that an equality amongst pastors was founded in Scripture, and that this opinion was endeared to them by the persecution of their brethren and the danger hanging over their church, he irritated them by ordering them to attend his chapel, that they might hear some of the bishops, whom he had appointed to preach against the principles which in Scotland were generally revered. The Bishop of Lincoln, who began the course of sermons, intended to convince men whose minds were in a state little favourable for dispassionate argument and calm investiga-

Ordered to attend the King's chapel.

tion, insisted upon the superiority of bishops to presbyters, and upon the inconveniencies and confusion which must result from equality amongst ministers. The Bishop of Rochester, still more effectually to try the temper and patience of Melvil and his friends, enlarged upon the King's supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, associating papists and presbyterians as the enemies of royalty. The Bishop of Chichester, in his turn, expatiated upon the right of kings to call synods and councils; and the series was closed by the Bishop of London, who endeavoured to prove that lay-elders had no place or office in the church, but that the order was a device of modern times, without support from Scripture or from antiquity. We may easily conceive the emotions with which the confident, and, as they would be regarded, the unchristian assertions of these prelates would be heard by the ministers, who were deeply versed in points of ecclesiastical controversy, and whose ardent zeal did not tend to mollify the temper; but the King was sanguine in the expectation that some of them would thus be converted,—an opinion which his new Scotish prelates would have urged him to abandon; for even Spottiswoode, who was present, and as earnest as his Majesty could be for a favourable issue to the conference, honestly admits, that the effect expected seldom happened, when the mind was prepossessed by prejudice, either against per-

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sons, or against the subjects upon which they enlarged.

1606. Conference.

After the ministers had been prepared, by the sermon of the Bishop of Lincoln, for meeting with their sovereign, they were admitted to an audience, and found the King, attended by the Archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, the newly appointed Bishops of Orkney and Galloway, the Bishop elect of Dunkeld, the Earl of Dunbar, Hamilton, the King's advocate, and Straiton of Lauriston. James, after stating the object of the meeting, demanded, from the eight ministers, an account of the irregular Assembly held at Aberdeen, and expressed his astonishment, that some of their brethren justified its lawfulness, which, he said, was, in effect, to proclaim him a tyrant and a persecutor. It had been previously settled, that James Melvil should answer for the rest, but that no minute reply should be given to what was asked of them, till they had maturely deliberated. Melvil merely hinted at the reasons which could be urged in jus-

Sept. 22.

* Calderwood's MS. Hist. Vol. V. and printed History, p. 537. It appears from Calderwood, that the sermons were delivered on successive days, only the first of them being preached before the ministers saw the King. Row's MS. p. 101. Spottiswoode, p. 497. Collier, Vol. II. p. 691. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 584. This intemperate writer adds, "These learned discourses could not gain upon these deaf adders." He would have himself, I have no doubt, been deaf to the powerful eloquence of Melvil, and would not, on this account, have been reproached by his conscience.

tification of the Assembly, and, after some irrelevant observations from the King, they were dismissed, with an injunction to be prepared for delivering their sentiments when they were again called. At this first meeting, none but those immediately concerned were present; but next day, when they assembled, several of the English nobility and clergy surrounded his Majesty. The ministers requested that Scotchmen only should be admitted, Andrew Melvil assigning as the reason, that the matter related solely to Scotland, and that some things might be said, in the homely freedom which they should use, which his Majesty would not wish his English subjects to hear. This being disregarded, the King bluntly required the Scotish divines to declare their opinions of the Aberdeen Assembly. The bishops were, as was to be supposed, unanimous in condemning it as turbulent, factious, and unlawful; but the rest first declined prejudging what should be decided by an ecclesiastical judicatory, and then, upon being urged, plainly declared their conviction, that the meeting at Aberdeen was lawful, and that they who had attended it ought not to have been condemned. The King seems now to have been satisfied that he would make no impression upon the ministers; and, probably irritated at the boldness with which Andrew Melvil, whose indignation was at length roused, inveighed against Hamilton, who had been the unworthy instrument in persecuting Forbes and those who

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adhered to him, he hastily withdrew, and he did not again admit them to his presence.*

1606. Ministers treated with cruelty.

The conference having thus terminated, the King was bound to permit the ministers, whom he had brought from Scotland, to return. He acted, however, very differently. He instructed the members of the Scotish privy-council, who were in London, to summon them to appear, and to insist upon their answering insidious questions, put with the evident intention of involving them in trouble.

Their appearances before the council. Sept. 30.

James Melvil, moderate and patient as he was, felt the indignation which such oppression was calculated to excite in every independent and well-constituted mind; and after he had been required by his Majesty's advocate, to say whether he prayed for the imprisoned ministers, whether he approved of the Assembly at Aberdeen, and of the ministers having declined the jurisdiction of the council, and where was his letter to the synod of Fife? he thus remonstrated: "I am a free subject of the kingdom of Scotland, as free as any kingdom in the world, to which I will stand. There has been no summons legally executed against me. The noble-

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 974—977, and printed History, p. 537—541. Row's MSS. p. 100, 101. Wodrow's MSS Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 79—82. Melvil's speech, and his address to the King's advocate, are given by Wodrow. The dignity of this venerable minister presents a striking contrast to the meanness and puerility which, according to the same author, were displayed by the King. Spottiswoode, p. 497, 498.

men here present, and I, are not in our own country. The charge, *super inquirendis*, was declared long since to be unjust. I am bound by no law to accuse myself, neither to furnish matter of accusation against myself." He then desired the noblemen "to deal with him, although a mean man, as a free-born Scotchman, as they would be content to be used themselves, that is, according to the laws of the realm of Scotland." *

Such language might surely have protected a man who had been guilty of no crime, who was not even accused, but who, in obedience to the order of his Sovereign, had come to court, leaving his family and his charge, and incurring an expence which his limited circumstances could with difficulty afford. The lords of the council still, however, pressed their inquiries, and seem to have felt no emotion of patriotism at what every patriot should have heard with the deepest interest. This exasperated Andrew Melvil, who could not behold, with indifference, what he believed to be wrong; and when he was at length admitted, he, in a tone of dignified reproach, told the noblemen before whom he appeared, "that they knew not what they were doing,—that they were degenerated from

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 957, and printed History, p. 542. Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 36, 37. This writer quotes the above remarks with the approbation which a good man naturally feels, and most justly blames Spottiswoode, who has not recorded them.

CHAP. X. 1606. the ancient nobility of Scotland, who were wont to give their lives and lands for the freedom of their country and of the Gospel, but that they were betraying and overturning both." *

Oct. 2. A short time after, the ministers were again summoned to the council; and the points upon which they were asked to give their opinions were delivered to them in writing. They were permitted to deliberate upon the answers to be returned, being only required not to go far from court, and to mention the place of their residence, that they might be readily found. †

The questions which were sanctioned by the King, and probably either dictated or corrected by him, will shew the mean tyranny of his government, whilst the answer of James Melvil, which, although the whole number gave separate replies, may be considered as expressing their general sentiments, will point out the difficulties by which the ministers were embarrassed, and the temper by which they were actuated. "The questions were, Whether they had not transgressed their duty in making public prayers for their brethren in ward, as being af-

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 82. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. V. p. 952, and Printed History, p. 542, 543.

† Calderwood, p. 513. Spottiswoode, p. 499. The archbishop says, that this appearance before the council was on the 20th of October. The questions are dated upon the 2d of that month, which renders Calderwood's account the more probable of the two.

flicted, and were willing to crave his Majesty's favour for the same, seeing their said brethren abide in ward for just causes, and by a just sentence of a lawful judge, standing unquarrelled, and unreduced? 2d, Whether they acknowledge his Majesty, by the authority of his prerogative royal as a Christian King, to have lawful and full power to convocate, prorogate, and cause desert, upon just and necessary causes known to him, the Assemblies of the church within his Majesty's dominions? 3d, Whether his Majesty, by his authority-royal, have not power to call and convene before him and his council, whatsoever person or persons, civil or ecclesiastical, for whatsoever faults, and give sentence thereanent; and whether all his Majesty's subjects be not astricted to compear before his Majesty and council, to answer, acknowledge, and obey his Majesties and council's judgment in the said offences?" To the first of these questions, James Melvil, after mature deliberation, and expressing the utmost submission, humility, and reverence to the King, and hearty affection to his grandeur, by which he probably meant the just rights of the crown, answered,—"I cannot conceive a transgression of duty in praying for our brethren, the command and warrant being so clear in the word of God; and if I could conceive any, prostrate at his Majesty's feet I would most willingly crave pardon and favour. To the second he replied,—That the laws of the realm, the judgment, practice, and constitution of our church, are clear

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upon this point; but, if there remained any doubt, it would be cleared in the next General Assembly, to which, by the whole synod, it is referred. With respect to the third, he said,—that it involved in it matters of civil polity to be resolved by lawyers, and the estates of the realm; but he added, that, "as to judging ministers in matters merely spiritual and ecclesiastical, such as concerned their calling and points of their ministry, which they have of and in Christ Jesus, and of his church only, together with the jurisdiction of the church, what it is, and how it differeth from the jurisdiction and power of civil magistrates, the statutes of the realm, the judgment, practice, and constitutions of our church, the King's declaration at Linlithgow, and at divers General Assemblies, are most clear and evident, to which I stand till God teach my conscience better; protesting, before the great God of Heaven and of earth, that if I thought it not a sin against Christ, the Lord of Lords and King of Kings, and so most dangerous to the King's Majesty's person, crown, and estate, to ascribe and give any farther to him, there is none living would be gladder, according to his ability, for avouching, maintaining, and standing for the same to the uttermost, than poor James Melvil." *

They are not permitted to return to Scotland.

The ministers, having now discharged the duty

* Calderwood's MS. Vol. V. p. 957, and printed History, p. 543, 544. Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 37, 38.

which they were, by the King, required to perform, were eager to return to Scotland; and they had no reason to apprehend that this would be refused. They had been invited to England,—they had come upon the good faith of the monarch,—they had answered the questions which were proposed to them as their consciences permitted, making every concession which did not appear contrary to their duty, and uniformly testifying the loyalty by which they were actuated. Yet their request was harshly or contemptuously rejected, whilst the bishops and their attendants were allowed to depart. This was radical and detestable oppression;—it was an attempt to establish the throne upon the ruin of law, of equity, and of humanity; and had it been extended in its application, whilst no resistance was made to it, it would have entailed upon this happy land all the horrors of slavery. They were not left to the uncertainty of conjecture respecting the motives which led to so despicable a violation of the honour of the King; for they soon learnt that he had decided upon the fate of their brethren who had been convicted of treason; that whilst, with the most grating hypocrisy, he called upon his subjects to admire his clemency in not ordering the unhappy pastors to be executed, he had issued the cruel order, that they should be banished from their country; that, with habits little adapted for struggling with difficulties in a foreign land, and at a period of life which would have required

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rather relaxation from exertion, than the severity of arduous enterprise, they should be torn from all which was dear to them, and seek comfort where alone they could find it, in the approbation of their own hearts, and in the favour and blessing of God. *

Fate and Character of the Melvils.

The Court, exasperated at the firmness of the Melvils, and of the other ministers who accompanied them, was eager to find some pretext for inflicting on them a more severe punishment than detention in England. Such a pretext was soon furnished by an incident which had a little before taken place. In Scotland, the horror with which Popery was at all times after the reformation regarded, was never concealed; the ministers, without reserve, expressed their detestation of it; and conceived themselves as warranted, both by the law of God and of the state, to remonstrate even with the King, when he countenanced what, in their estimation, was calculated to promote the Papal superstition. To this Andrew Melvil had been accustomed from the period of his arrival from Geneva, and he had owed to it some of the popularity and influence which he acquired. When he was brought to London, and was ordered to attend divine service in the royal chapel, he was much struck with

Sept. 29.

* Calderwood's MS. Vol. V. p. 993, and printed history, p. 547—549. Spottiswoode, p. 499. Row's MS. History, p. 109. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Forbes, p. 60, and of Welsh, p. 21, 22.

the rites and ceremonies which there were employed; and, indignant at what he regarded as a departure from the pure spiritual worship prescribed by Christianity, he expressed in a satirical epigram the sentiments which he entertained. A copy of this epigram was, in a manner which to himself was inexplicable, for he had not published the obnoxious verses, conveyed to the King, who with his usual littleness of mind, instantly ordered Melvil to be prosecuted. He was accordingly summoned before the English council, and when he was charged with having composed the verses, he with magnanimity acknowledged that he had done so, being much moved with indignation to see such vanity and superstition as he had described in the epigram, sanctioned by a Christian church, under a Christian King, born and brought up under the light of the gospel, and that he had intended to present the verses to the King, and to embrace that opportunity of avowing what he thought. When Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, the rigid persecutor of the puritans, and a prelate most unpopular in Scotland, from his intrigues respecting the religion of that kingdom, addressed him, Melvil yielded to the warmth of his zeal; reproached the primate for those parts of his conduct which the Presbyterians condemned; blamed him for all the corruptions, vanities, and superstitions which were used in the English church; reprobated his silencing and imprisoning faithful ministers; styled him the

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capital enemy of the reformed in Europe; and, shaking the white sleeves of the archbishop's rochet, called them Romish rags, and a part of the beast's mark.* This intrepidity and boldness of

* Calderwood's MS. Vol. V. An. 1606. Vol. VI. p. 178, 179, and printed history, p. 548. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 82—84. Row's MS. History, p. 102—104. Spottiswoode, p. 500, speaking of this appearance of Melvil, says, that he spoke "more like a madman than a divine," forgetting that he was not amenable to the English council, and that he had too much cause for reprobating the conduct of those whom he reproved. His defence, far from meriting the harsh censure of Spottiswoode, reflects the highest credit upon Melvil's intrepidity, and in his situation there is an ample excuse for the warmth of temper which he displayed. Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 51. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 385.

It may amuse the reader to place before him the epigram which exasperated James, and the circumstances which gave occasion to it. When Melvil upon a solemn day, (29th September), attended, by order, the King's chapel, he saw the altar at which the King and Queen offered, decorated with two shut books, two basons, and two candlesticks. These ornaments, with the ceremonies which were used, convinced the Count de Vademont, who was present, that an union might be easily effectuated between the English and the Romish service, and led a German to exclaim, "That nothing of a solemn mass was wanting, but the adoration of the consecrated bread." The following is the epigram for which Melvil suffered:

"Cur stant clausi Anglis libri duo, regia in ara
Lumina cæca duo, pollubra sicca duo?
Num sensum cultumque Dei tenet Anglia clausum
Lumine cæca suo, sorde sepulta sua?
Romano et ritu dum regalem instruit aram
Purpuream pingit relligiosa lupam."

Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in life of Melvil, p. 83. Wodrow gives a translation of the epigram, as does Pierce, in his Vindication of the Dissenters, p. 173.

remonstrance, was considered as meriting severe reprehension, and he was committed to the custody of the Dean of St Paul's, who was commanded to prevent any person from having access to him, and at convenient times to confer with him upon the points with respect to which he differed from the church. With this clergyman he remained for several months, soon after the expiration of which he was sent to the Tower; and a mandate was then issued to the Archbishop of St Andrews, and several other persons named in the commission, to supply his place as principal of the New College, in the University of that city, as he would no more return to that charge* He did, accordingly, never return. After languishing several years in the Tower, and in vain attempting, at the suggestion of some of the Scotish prelates, by a manly apology for his verses, to obtain his freedom, he was permitted, upon the solicitation of the Duke of Boulogne, to accept the Professorship of Divinity in the Protestant university at Sedan, to which town he removed. About the last period of his life, little information has been transmitted. His health and his spirits were impaired by his sufferings; he felt the hardship of having been driven from his native country; he lamented

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April 26.

July 27.

Fate and Character of the Melvils.

1611.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 84—92. Calderwood's MS. Vol. VI. p. 22, 23, and printed History, p. 549. Row's MS. p. 105. Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 57. Spottiswoode, p. 500, writes, as if Melvil had, immediately after his appearance before the Council, been sent to the Tower, which is not the fact.

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1621. the state of religion in Scotland; and after enduring much bodily anguish, he expired, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, closing his active and interesting career under the influence of that piety by which he had been eminently distinguished. *

The other ministers who had been summoned to London, in vain renewed their entreaties for permission to revisit their country; the King would not listen to their equitable petition, although even Bancroft, who seems to have been convinced that they were iniquitously detained, wished that it should be granted. † At length, however, with the exception of James Melvil, they were sent to Scotland, but were confined to particular places of that kingdom, specified by his Majesty. Melvil had a more severe fate. He was ordered to reside in Newcastle; he was afterwards removed to Berwick, where

1614. Jan. 21. he died, without having been restored to his native land. ‡

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 108, where all the information which has been handed down respecting him while at Sedan, is preserved. Row's MS. History, p. 171—173. Spottiswoode, p. 500, records the death of Melvil with an evident want of candour, which must be lamented in so respectable a historian.

† Calderwood, p. 561.

‡ Calderwood's MS. Vol. VI. p. 382, and printed History, p. 569, and 649. Spottiswoode, p. 504, mentions the death of James Melvil, without the slightest intimation, however, that he condemned the injustice with which this good man was sacrificed, or deplored the severity of his fate. Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 57.

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Of the virtues of this amiable man, abundant proof is afforded by the whole history of his life, and by the testimony even of those who did not adopt his sentiments. His uncle was formed for the times in which he lived; united to talents of a high order, and to most respectable literary attainments, an inflexible firmness, a keenness of temper, and an impetuosity of eloquence, which alarmed, and often overawed his enemies; but James Melvil, with a sound and enlightened judgment, combined the utmost candour, and the most engaging mildness of disposition; he shrunk from the jarrings of controversy, would have delighted in the quietness of tranquil times, and never, but when impelled by conscience, resisted the authority of his Sovereign and the oppression of his government. At one period, he was regarded by the King with partiality, or with kindness; and had he been disposed to sacrifice his principles to ambition, he would certainly have been exalted to the highest situations in the church; but, convinced that the tenets of his venerable relation were founded in Scripture, and that no blessing of this world can compensate for the loss of integrity, he remained firm in what he believed to be right, and was esteemed and revered by numbers who had not virtue to imitate the noble pattern which he exhibited. *

* For the character of Andrew Melvil, see the conclusion of his life by Wodrow. For that of his nephew, consult Calderwood's MS. and printed History, p. 649. Baillie's Hist. Vindication, p. 57.

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1607. Indignation thus excited in Scotland.

The effect of the cruel policy followed with respect to the ministers, was, in Scotland, such as the most thoughtless might have anticipated. The withdrawing of so many of those who were regarded with peculiar veneration, so soon after the shameful trial of their condemned brethren, excited some alarm as to the intentions of the King; but when the people learnt that the liberty of returning to them was denied to their pastors, and heard the mandate of banishment which had been issued against the ministers who supported the lawfulness of the Assembly at Aberdeen,—imputing all this to the bishops, they loudly expressed their detestation and abhorrence, and did not hesitate to declare, what from the first they had believed, that the Melvils, and those who accompanied them, had been called to England, not with the view of listening to their reasoning, but that they might be prevented from opposing the ecclesiastical measures which the prelates were to propose and enforce. *

Impolicy of this step.

Nothing, considered merely in a political light, can be conceived more unwise than the iniquitous treatment of the unfortunate ministers. From the period that the Earl of Morton, misled by the narrow maxims of avarice, had defrauded the church

Spottiswoode, p. 504, admits that he was a man of good learning, sober, and modest.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of A. Melvil, p. 79. Calderwood's History, p. 519, 520, and 537. Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 56. Row's MS. History, p. 107.

of the revenues, which, by the introduction of a modified system of episcopacy, the clergy flattered themselves would be restored to them, that form of ecclesiastical government had been unpopular in Scotland, being not only associated with Popery, but viewed as the instrument of oppression. All doubt as to this latter point, James and his courtiers now effectually eradicated from the minds of his Scotish subjects. They knew that the restoration of the order of bishops was, in the King's estimation, of infinite moment; and in what way did he seek to gain his object? Far from addressing himself to the reason and the feelings of those whom he wished to influence, he outraged both; he dragged from the scene of their pastoral labours innocent men who had imparted the instructions and the comforts of religion to congregations who rejoiced under their ministry; and, as if this were not enough, he continued, for a series of years, to harass and oppress them; thus confirming every opinion which they had sedulously inculcated.

Not counteracted by the conduct of the bishops.

By one method alone could this weak and pernicious policy have been counteracted. Had the bishops devoted themselves to the great duties which their sacred offices imposed on them; had they freely mingled with the people; and had they imitated the ardent zeal of the presbyterian clergy, becoming examples of the self-denial, the temperance, and the contempt of ambition, which their flocks had so long been accustomed to revere,—al-

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though they would have encountered opposition, that opposition would have gradually abated, and our forefathers might insensibly have been convinced of what is now so happily confirmed, that under episcopacy and under presbytery we may equally look for the virtues of the Christian character, and for the purity of divine truth. But unfortunately the new prelates resolved to act upon very different principles. Attached to the court, and depending upon its decided support for the continuance of their dignity and influence, they conformed to its manners,—they disregarded that strict observance of ordinances, which was then considered as the unequivocal evidence of sincere faith in the gospel,—they grasped at the honours and the civil exaltation which the partiality of the monarch was willing to bestow,—they affected haughtiness of deportment,—and, what completed the estrangement of the community from them, they were too ready to abet tyranny, becoming the advocates of whatever the King, often regardless of the fundamental maxims of the political constitution, sought to effectuate. It is reported even of Spottiswoode, of whose attachment to religion, notwithstanding the levity which he sometimes assumed, there can be no doubt, that it was his constant practice to begin his journies to court on the Lord's day, and during the time of public worship. Although we must receive, with much allowance, this with many of the charges which were after-

wards adduced against the bishops, and the satirical insinuations, or abuse, which, in various ways, were actively circulated, yet enough remains to shew that they did not act with the caution which their situation required, and that they did not pay that wise and delicate attention to the opinions and prejudices that prevailed, without which the most efficient form of discipline, and the most apostolical church, would have lost the affections of its members, and failed in producing those moral and religious impressions, which it is the sacred duty, and should be the noble ambition of the ministers of the gospel, under every form of ecclesiastical polity, and amongst all denominations of Christians, to imprint upon the heart. *

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. VI. under 1609. In his printed history, Calderwood mentions, p. 487, that it was always the practice of Spottiswoode to cross ferries, and to ride on the Lord's day in time of sermon. See also Burnet's History of his own times, Vol. I. p. 9, and 28. Proceedings of the Assembly 1638, in Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. Character of Spottiswoode in Scot's Staggering State of Scotch Statesmen. Calderwood in his MS. and printed history, and Wodrow in his Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 161, 162, from Calderwood's MSS. have inserted two copies of verses, which in the beginning of 1609 were actively distributed; the one, giving a character of each of the Bishops, was, both in Latin and English, thrown into the tolbooth, and other public places; whilst the other, giving a general character of them, and which Wodrow suspects to be the composition of Andrew Melvil, was handed about.

1st Set of Verses.

" Vinum amat Andreas, cum vino Glasgua amores,
Ross cætus, ludos Galva, Brichæus opes,

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Aulam Orcas, ollam Moravus, parit insula fraudes
Dumblanus tricas, nomen Aberdonius,
Fata Caledonius fraterni ruminat agri
Rarus ades parochos, o, Catanæe tuos
Solus in Argadiis præsul meritissimus ovis
Vera ministerii symbola solus habes.

This copy, taken from Wodrow, differs in some respects from the one in Calderwood, p. 601.

2d Set of Verses.

"Ter quater et toto fuit unus Apostolus orbe,
Nunc tot Apostaticos Scotia sola foves,
Distat Apostolico, novus hic chorus; ille ministros
Pervigiles; porcos hic habet atq. lupos.
Unus erat Satanæ mystes, pars altera Christi,
Unus at hic Christi est, cætera pars Satani."

Row's MSS. p. 166, 170, and 343, containing some additions to the history. Row, p. 173, mentions, that the bishops were odious to the people; but, speaking of Spottiswoode, p. 165, he does not state so strongly the charge of this prelate violating the Sabbath. His words are, "The Bishop, after preaching in the forenoon, as his custom was, went to some pastime, or to take rest and sleep." The Bishops of Scotland at this time were, Gladstanes, Archbishop of St Andrews; Spottiswoode, Archbishop of Glasgow; Lindsay, Bishop of Ross; Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway; Lamb, Bishop of Brechin; Law, Bishop of Orkney; Douglas, Bishop of Murray; Knox, Bishop of the Isles; Blackburn, Bishop of Aberdeen; Lindsay, Bishop of Dunkeld; Forbes, Bishop of Caithness; and Campbell, Bishop of Argyll. Upon this last prelate, all parties conferred the highest praise.

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

Progress of Episcopacy....Convention at Linlithgow.... Opposition to its Resolutions....Instructions given by the King to the Privy-Council in Scotland....Remarks upon them....The Bishops acquire influence....First Conference at Falkland....A General Assembly....Advantages gained through it by the Bishops....Trial of Lord Balmerino....Second Conference at Falkland....A Parliament....Spottiswoode becomes a Lord of Session.... High Court of Commission erected....General Assembly....Its Decisions....Observations upon them....Proclamation to enforce them....Remarks upon it....Consecration of three Scotish Prelates in London....Impolicy of this measure....Episcopacy Confirmed by Parliament, and fully Established.

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1606. Progress of Episcopacy.

When the King prohibited the Assembly at Aberdeen, he intimated, that a meeting of this supreme ecclesiastical judicatory was to take place in July. From the fulfilment of this promise he might have considered himself as released by the opposition of the ministers; but it is probable that he deferred holding the Assembly, from the conviction that he would not, in the state in which the kingdom then was, obtain its sanction to the arrangements which he was determined to introduce. After, however, by drawing one part of the leading men amongst

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the clergy to London, and banishing another, he had removed those whose talents and influence the bishops most dreaded, and struck consternation into the whole order, he appointed a convention, for regulating the spiritual condition of Scotland, to be held at Linlithgow towards the conclusion of this year, so eventful in the ecclesiastical annals of Scotland. The mode in which it was summoned was most irregular. A letter was addressed by the King to the different presbyteries, copies of which were delivered, in some cases, a few weeks, in others only a few days, before the meeting. It was not even stiled an Assembly, and the presbyteries, instead of being permitted to elect their representatives, were commanded to choose the persons whose names were transmitted. The bishops were most anxious to procure such of the clergy as they could influence or intimidate; and the courtiers who were present readily espoused and supported what they knew to be acceptable to the Sovereign. *

Convention at Linlithgow. 10th Dec.

About a hundred ministers assembled, and above thirty noblemen and barons. After electing a moderator, the Earl of Dunbar presented a letter from the King, in which his Majesty explained the purpose for which he had called them together, and

* Calderwood's MS. Vol. V. p. 980, and printed History, p. 551. Row's MS. p. 107. Spottiswoode, p. 500. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 8. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 81.

stated his sentiments respecting the best mode of removing the dissensions which had afflicted the church. He proposed that, till tranquillity was happily restored, one prudent minister in each presbytery should be chosen constantly to preside, and that this office should belong to the bishops in those presbyteries, within the bounds of which they resided. The tendency of this measure was at once perceived, and notwithstanding all the means which had been employed to secure compliance, it could not be carried in the general form in which it was presented; but to prevent the danger from it which was apprehended, it was ordained that the moderators of presbyteries and provincial assemblies should not presume to do any thing of themselves, without the advice and consent of their brethren; that they should have no greater jurisdiction than had been assigned to former moderators by the constitution of the church; that they should be subject to the trial and censure of synods; and to these restrictions were added several others, which, had they been put in force, would have rendered this new scheme little prejudicial to the Presbyterian discipline. *

Opposition to its Resolutions.

Guarded, however, as these resolutions were, and

* Calderwood, p. 557, 558, and MSS. Vol. VI. p. 1, 2. Epistola de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 11, 12, and Epistola Hieronymi Philadelphi, &c, p. 96, 97, both by Calderwood, and printed 1623, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 501, 502, and Refutatio Libelli, &c. p. 84.

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popular as was one of the reasons assigned for adopting them, that they afforded many advantages for the suppression of Popery; much as the interest of the clergy was concerned in supporting them,—for the bishops who had been entrusted with the power of assigning stipends to the ministers, employed this power in bending them to their views,—they met with firm and persevering resistance. In the presbyteries indeed, the efforts to introduce perpetual moderators were not unfrequently successful; but the synods remained inflexible. They asserted, that it was their constitutional privilege, to elect moderators twice a year. They called for the act of the convention, which the commissioners of the King refused to produce; thus giving countenance to an insinuation afterwards circulated, that it had been altered and interpolated at court; and expressed a doubt whether they should pay any respect to the authority of the convention, till it had been sanctioned by a General Assembly. In the synod of Perth, this temper was strikingly displayed. When the ministers, through the violence of the adherents of the King or the prelates, were driven from the church, they met in the open air, and, encouraged by the deep interest which the people took in their deliberations, they enjoined the Presbyteries with which they were connected, on the first day of their meeting, to elect moderators agreeably to the former practice. To prevent the imitation of this example, the synod of Fife was prohibited from assem-

bling, and the synod of Angus was the only one in Scotland, which consented to choose a perpetual moderator. *

Instructions by the King.

This opposition had been foreseen by James, and his directions occasioned by it shew how insincerely it was asserted that his great object was to restore tranquillity to the church, and that this was constantly kept in view by him, in all the steps which he took with respect to ecclesiastical discipline. When the decision in favour of perpetual moderators was presented to him, he said, "That although the Assembly had given its opinion that the act would be universally received, he knew the ministers too well to expect any such thing. Their conscientious zeal to maintain parity, and their desire to keep all things in a constant volubility, as he expressed it, were such, that they would never agree to a settled government. Besides, he knew that divers of those who were nominated to the places of moderator, would refuse to accept the same, lest they should be thought to affect superiority over their brethren. That, therefore, he would have the council to look to that business, and direct charges as well for those that were nominated to accept the

* Row's MS. History, p. 111—113. Calderwood's MS. Vol. VI. p. 17, and printed History, p. 564—574. Epistola de Regimine, &c. p. 13. Epistola Hieronymi Philadelphi, &c. p. 98, erroneously printed 96. Spottiswoode, p. 502.

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moderation, as to the ministers of every presbytery to accept them that were nominated." *

Remarks upon them.

It is difficult to conceive a more satisfactory proof of the popularity which the Presbyterian discipline had acquired. Artfully as the King represented this measure, as calculated to give a permanent constitution to the church, he did not rest it upon its own merits, but he called upon his council to support it by the interference of the civil power. He also gave an incidental, but strong testimony to the sincerity of the ministers. He admitted that they were swayed by conscientious motives, and declared that some of them would not accept the pre-eminence which was offered to them. Yet this pre-eminence did not merely gratify ambition, it brought with it what to men who had long struggled with poverty must have been viewed as most desirable, for to the constant moderators, the King had assigned a salary of a hundred pounds, upon the ostensible pretext that their attention might not, by secular cares, be distracted from the affairs of the church. †

* Spottiswoode, p. 503. That the council did look to this business in the sense in which the words are used by the King, is evident from Epistola Hieronymi, &c. p. 100.

† Spottiswoode, p. 501. Row's MS. History, p. 110. Calderwood, p. 560. This writer insinuates, what there can be little doubt was the fact, that this salary was intended to render the moderators subservient to the bishops, and the court. It is proper to mention, that the sum allotted to them was Scots money; yet inconsiderable as it was, it added much to the comfort of those who received it.

It is astonishing that James was not struck with the infatuation of the policy which he was now led to pursue; that he should for a moment have imagined, that the stability of his throne could be ensured by any arrangement which it was necessary to force upon his subjects, and which thus estranged from him their affections, and extinguished the loyalty which the circumstance of his residing in another kingdom should have led him with unremitting and paternal solicitude to cherish. Although he disliked the freedom that was interwoven with the ecclesiastical constitution which he had once sanctioned, which he had frequently sworn to uphold, and which, at this very moment, in complete contradiction to his actions, he was repeatedly avowing that he had no desire to subvert, he had experienced its salutary effects in uniting his people,—an object compared with which, questions of church government, in a political light, sunk into insignificance. *

The bishops acquire influence.

But, whilst the conduct of the synods, and the sentiments expressed by many of the ministers, showed that the ecclesiastical innovations were contrary to the wishes and the feelings of the people, the bishops possessed many advantages for influencing the public mind; and it soon became apparent

* Calderwood, p. 560 and 573. Spottiswoode, p. 503. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. V. folio, in Life of Robert Boyd, where, in a letter to Monsieur Du Plesis, Boyd very forcibly describes how effectual the Presbyterian polity was in strengthening the government, by uniting and restraining the people, p. 45.

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that numbers were inclined to relax their opposition, or even to support what they had previously condemned.* Although the prelates had been furnished by the King with the means of crushing, by the intervention of the civil authority, all who resisted their pretensions, they seem, except in a single instance, to have avoided the use of this hazardous expedient, resting their hopes of success upon the application of motives, the force of which, when acting on a great body of men, they readily appreciated. Possessed of the privilege of regulating the stipends of the clergy, all who, from the severity of poverty, or the feelings excited by the distress and want of those who were most dear to them, looked anxiously towards independence in their pecuniary supplies, naturally sought their countenance,—and, when interest or inclination guides the mind, the understanding not unfrequently becomes subservient, and exhibits in a favourable light, what, under other circumstances, would have been rejected and condemned. The bishops also visited their dioceses, and, in the private intercourse which they thus had with the ministers, they convinced many of them that it was foolish and dangerous to resist the King; assured them that his intentions had been misrepresented; and that, if they would quietly listen to what should be proposed, they would be satisfied that nothing was in agitation hostile to the

* Calderwood, p. 682.

liberties of the church. The effect of these representations was very great. Even Calderwood acknowledges, that, through policy or terror, the bishops got too much advantage over the weaker men of the ministry, and prevailed on them to choose, as their commissioners to the next Assembly, such as were friendly to the designs of the court. *

But there was another cause which probably was very effectual in disposing the ministers to check dissension amongst the friends of the reformed religion. Of the trouble which had been occasioned by the Popish nobles some account has been already given. The Marquis of Huntly, the most powerful of this faction, had often attracted the notice of the ecclesiastical judicatories, and various processes against him had been instituted. But although, from prudential considerations, he had sometimes professed to renounce Popery, his sentiments were not changed, and it appears, that, from his influence in the north of Scotland, many had been induced to abjure the Protestant faith, or to avow that attachment to the Romish hierarchy which they had previously concealed. Whether the fears of the Protestants were not, for particular purposes, artfully increased, or whether the danger which alarmed them was so great as they imagined it to be, may perhaps be doubted; but it is certain that alarm was

* Calderwood's History, p. 578 and 584.

CHAP. XI. 1608.

at this period widely disseminated, and that the King and the bishops affected, or felt, the warmest zeal in the cause of the church. *

The prelates wisely availed themselves of what all considered as so formidable, to inculcate harmony and moderation; they represented the importance of summoning a General Assembly to devise the most effectual means of resisting popery; and they recommended, that, previous to its meeting, a conference should be held, with the view of forming an agreement respecting the discipline and order of the church.

First conference at Falkland. June 15.

The bishops, and some of the commissioners who had been nominated by the General Assembly, met accordingly at Falkland, and they received from several ministers, who had also met there, articles intended to secure concord. With these, the bishops and commissioners professed that they were themselves perfectly satisfied, but dreading that, if some modification of them did not take place, the Assembly, for which all were so anxious, might be prorogued, and the whole fabric of the ecclesiastical constitution be subverted, they suggested a few alterations, and in the following conclusions all parties acquiesced. 1st, That the questions which were agitated amongst the ministers relating to matters of government, should remain untouched and

* Calderwood, p. 590. Buik of the Universal Kirk, under the Proceedings of the Assembly 1608. Spottiswoode, p. 505.

unhandled on either side, till the next General Assembly, and no occasion be given by private or public speeches of any farther distraction of mind, but that, as brethren and ministers of Christ, they should use their common endeavours, especially in doctrine, against Papists, both as to their superstition in religion, and pernicious practices. 2d, That the General Assembly hold at the time appointed, and that his Majesty be most humbly intreated for that effect. 3d, That nothing which is in controversy, and maketh strife in the church, be treated in said Assembly, but that the same be conferred on in a private conference by such as the Assembly shall appoint to prepare a way for composing these differences, and that the Assembly appoint a meeting of some brethren, at such time, place, and manner, as they think fit. *

To these were added several other articles. The great object of the bishops, however, evidently was, that an Assembly should be held, at which matters of polity were not to be discussed, but that these should be committed to a select number who could be more easily influenced or convinced. Some of the ministers in Fife, aware of the views for which

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. VI. p. 95—98, and printed History, p. 584, 585. Row's MS. History, p. 114—118. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. V. folio, in Life of Robert Boyd, p. 43. In the letter from Johnston, a professor in the University of St Andrews, to Boyd, to which I refer, it is mentioned, that there was a conference at Falkland between the bishops and some of the sincere ministry,—a significant distinction.

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1608. July.

the conference took place, endeavoured to counteract them, by circulating amongst presbyteries the commission and the instructions to be given to their representatives. In these there was an express prohibition, under pain of being deposed and excommunicated, from voting, or consenting to any alteration in the government of the church of Scotland; but their efforts were not successful, and the mode in which they had acted was disapproved by James Melvil, with whom they had consulted. *

A General Assembly. July 26.

The General Assembly was held in Linlithgow at the time which had been specified, and the Earls of Dunbar, Winton, and Lothian, were commissioned to represent the Sovereign. They were attended by about forty noblemen and gentlemen, whom the King had ordered to be present, and who, although not chosen as members, claimed the privilege of voting. A feeble attempt was made to prevent this, by reminding the moderator, that, by acts of Assembly, only three commissioners from his Majesty were permitted to give suffrages. The objection, however, was disregarded, and the election of a new moderator took place. In calling the roll of members, the bishops were named before the commissioners of the church, which was the first time, since the introduction of presbytery, that this distinction had been made. †

* Calderwood, p. 586—588, and MSS. Vol. VI. p. 103.

† Calderwood, p. 589. Spottiswoode, p. 505.

The King, in his letter to the Assembly, expressed his zeal against Popery, and his anxiety to remove from the church all ground of dissension. Much time was occupied in considering the danger to be apprehended from the increase of the Popish faith; and an inquiry was instituted into the causes to which this might be attributed, and into the means by which it might be averted. Many of the suggestions and resolutions upon this subject, then so deeply interesting, evinced much prudence and knowledge of human nature; and a sentence of excommunication was pronounced against Huntly, who, with his usual contemptuous defiance, had refused to attend the deliberations of the Assembly. The increase of Popery was ascribed partly to the conduct of the ministers, and partly to causes over which they had no control. With respect to the clergy, it was declared, that they had promoted the evil, by their neglecting the instruction of youth, and the establishment or provision of schools; by their rashness in admitting to the ministry men little qualified to resist, by argument, the adversaries of the truth; by not paying sufficient attention to the discovery and conviction of Jesuits; and by those distractions amongst themselves, which, originating from diversity of opinion, had led to the extinction of that cordiality and mutual affection by which they should be distinguished. Suitable remedies for these errors were proposed and sanctioned, and various other resolutions, tending to secure

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the interests of the reformation, were adopted. In the zeal with which the suppression of Popery was prosecuted, the questions which had so deeply agitated the church were suspended; and there seems to have prevailed an earnest desire that harmony should be restored. Upon the plea that there was not sufficient time for discussing what related to discipline and polity, certain persons were appointed to reason upon these subjects, and to report the result of their deliberations to the next Assembly, it being understood that, during this interval, the advice of the brethren who had met at Falkland should be adopted. * A commission was also given to several of the members, amongst whom all the bishops were included, to correspond with the King; and as eleven of these members had power to act, they were virtually invested with privileges completely subversive of the Presbyterian constitution. It was indeed carefully specified, that the re-election of the former commissioners should not deprive the Assembly of the power to choose any whom it conceived to be qualified, and should not imply the perpetuity of the commission itself; but this was a feeble barrier, which even those who erected it were probably aware could be easily surmounted. Some general promises of intercession

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 609, 610. Calderwood, p. 598. Spottiswoode, p. 505, 506. He does not mention the last resolution, which, although it laid the foundation for the ascendancy of the bishops, implied that their superiority was not yet acknowledged.

for the banished ministers were made by the adherents of the court, but in these there was little sincerity; for they who were now striving after exaltation, could not fail to be sensible that their success very much depended upon their preventing the return of men by whom it would be steadily resisted. * 1608.

When we consider how little was directly gained in this Assembly by the advocates of episcopacy, it may at first appear that there was no need for the caution which was employed in ascertaining the sentiments held by those of whom it consisted. There was nothing decidedly hostile to the existing polity; there was no recognition of the superiority of bishops; there were even proceedings which implied, that all ministers were equally subject to the control of the church, or of its judicatories. Yet it is certain, that the foundation was laid for those bolder pretensions which soon after were confidently urged, and which the whole influence of the crown was exerted to support. Advantages gained through this Assembly by the bishops.

From the state of public opinion in Scotland, it would have been highly imprudent openly to set at nought the authority of a General Assembly. Although the convention which had been held at Linlithgow received from the courtiers that appellation,

* Authors last quoted. Calderwood, p. 602, and MSS. Vol. VI. p. 103—140, where a full account of the transactions of the Assembly is preserved.

CHAP. XI. 1608.

it was not considered as such by the zealous adherents of presbytery, and if no subsequent one, regularly constituted, had been convened, the plea that the restoration of episcopacy was in decided opposition to the mind of the church it would have been found difficult to resist. Whatever was thought of the manner in which the clergy were influenced, there could be no doubt that the present meeting was a lawful assembly. Yet it had not condemned the recent innovations; it renewed the commission which it was esteemed by the bishops so important to obtain; it recognized a diversity of sentiment respecting the government of the church, and, instead of reprobating this, considered it as affording interesting matter for serious discussion. Although no peculiar privileges were granted to the bishops, their names and their titles were inserted in the register of the assembly, and they were authorized by it to take an active part in whatever related to the best interests of the established religion. To give full efficacy to all this, the members had solemnly declared, in the presence of God, that they would lay aside and cast away all grudge and rancour; that, upon their return to their parishes, they would recommend this to their presbyteries, that all descriptions of the people might concur in mutual friendship and holy amity. The prelates were thus, in fact, represented as not having merited the obloquy which had been cast on them, and the natural conclusion, suggested by what had been

done was, that violent opposition to the innovations which were contemplated, was inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity. * CHAP. XI. 1608.

When the proceedings of this Assembly were communicated to James Melvil, he saw the evil which would probably result from them; and in a letter to one of his friends he declared, that what he had intimated twelve years before was now apparent, that either God must change the King's heart, or that the government of the Scotish church must be overturned. †

About this period an event took place which strongly agitated the public mind, and which implicated the faith or the sincerity of the King. It has been already mentioned, that, some years before the accession of James to the English throne, a letter was sent in his name to the Pope, in which language was employed, indicative of high veneration for the successor of St Peter, and not compatible with that ardent zeal for the reformation, by which a Protestant monarch should have been actuated. Cardinal Bellarmine, in one of his controversial works, inserted this letter, and James, who was aware of the consequences which would probably result, if he did not vindicate himself 1609. Balmerino's trial.

* Buik of the Universal Kirk. In this Register, p. 608, 609, there is a striking account of the solemn manner in which the ministers pledged themselves to preserve harmony. Calderwood, p. 599, 600. Row's MS. Hist. p. 118, 122.

† Calderwood's History, p. 600.

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from the insinuations of so zealous an advocate of Popery, charged Lord Balmerino, who had been secretary of state when the letter was dispatched, with having improperly, and without his knowledge, obtained his signature. Balmerino at first affirmed that he had sent the letter with the King's concurrence; but when he found that James was resolved to deny this, he confessed, or affected to confess, that he had put it amongst a number of official papers, and that the King had, without any knowledge of its contents, affixed his name. Such a daring abuse of royal confidence, deservedly called for the most exemplary punishment. Balmerino was accordingly conveyed by a guard to Scotland, in which kingdom the offence had been committed; he was brought to trial, and, having been convicted, he was condemned to be executed, and his property was ordered to be forfeited to the crown. Notwithstanding all these measures, however, there is much reason to believe that James was not ignorant of the letter. The unfortunate secretary in his own memoirs, observes, "Next followed my conviction in St Andrews, wherein I was the only actor myself, to give his Majesty satisfaction; following, in every point, the Earl of Dunbar's direction, brought to me by my Lord Burley, or the Lord Scoone;" an observation which certainly implies collusion; and the fact that the sentence pronounced was never carried into execution, gives some confirmation to a supposition, which exhibits

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in so shameful a light the deceit and the meanness of the King. The condemnation, however, had the effect of convincing the great body of the people in Scotland, who could not penetrate into the intrigues of the court, that their sovereign had been calumniated, and that he was sincere in his professions of attachment to the reformed religion. The fate of Balmerino was very melancholy. Although he escaped, as he probably was assured that he would do, the ignominy of perishing on the scaffold, his liberty was restrained; he found himself shunned and detested; he probably experienced how little reliance could be placed on the gratitude of a monarch; and he soon expired, a prey to the humiliation and anguish which the consciousness of having sacrificed his integrity had excited in his breast. *

Second conference at Falkland. 4th May.

The bishops, who, from conceiving that his condemnation would lessen the opposition which they dreaded, were much interested in the issue of Balmerino's trial, now turned their attention to the subject of ecclesiastical polity; and, agreeably to the resolution of last Assembly, a conference was held

* A very full account of Balmerino's trial is given in Vol. VI. of Calderwood's MS. History, p. 185, &c. in which is inserted his lordship's own narration. Calderwood's printed History, p. 600 and 604, 605. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 103. Spottiswoode, p. 511, 512. For the fate of Balmerino, the archbishop seems to have had no pity, regarding him as an enemy to prelacy. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 5, 6. Balfour's MSS. quoted by Guthrie, Vol. IX. p. 53—56.

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at Falkland, between some of the prelates, a few of the council, and the ministers appointed by the church. The great points which were there agitated, were the propriety of deciding whether, in each synod and presbytery, there should be a constant moderator, and whether the cautions by which the powers of the bishops had been limited, should be in future observed. Every method was used to procure a favourable and harmonious answer; but the ministers, although not disposed to use the strong language which Melvil would have employed, could not be induced to acquiesce in the views oft he court, and it was at length decided, that their final resolution should for a few months be deferred. Another conference was accordingly appointed to take place at Stirling, in August; but nothing was done at that time, the bishops having the prospect of obtaining an Assembly, which would sanction the privileges that they were eager to acquire.*

A Parliament. 24th June.

At a parliament which met in Edinburgh about the end of June, the intentions of the Sovereign with respect to the episcopal order were fully unfolded. Some acts having been previously passed to check the diffusion, or prevent the contamination of Popish superstition, it was resolved to restore to the archbishops and bishops the civil jurisdiction

* Calderwood's MS. Vol. VI. p. 198, and printed History, p. 606—613. Row's MS. p. 131—135, and 139. Neal, in his History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 81, erroneously states, that the bishops carried their point at Stirling.

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1609. June.

which they had once enjoyed, but which, after the reformation, had been wisely transferred to the supreme court of justice. The estates declared, that his Majesty, by their advice, and with their express consent, restored and redintegrated the archbishops and bishops of the realm to their former authority, dignity, prerogative, privileges, and jurisdiction lawfully pertaining to them, especially to the jurisdiction of commissariats and administration of justice by their commissioners and deputies, in all spiritual and ecclesiastical causes controverted between any persons dwelling within their dioceses. Another singular law respected the apparel of judges, magistrates, and churchmen. By this law, full power was given to the King to display his royal ingenuity in devising proper dresses for these different classes of his subjects, and one object of it no doubt was, to distinguish the prelates from their humbler brethren by the splendour of their vestments; for although gravity of apparel is recommended, yet particular anxiety is shewn about the external appearance of those churchmen who were to have vote in parliament. The act thus curiously proceeds upon this subject: "Attour his Majesty and estates forsaid, considering what slander and contempt have arisen to the ecclesiastical estate of this kingdom, by the occasion of the light and indecent apparel used by some of that profession, and chiefly those having vote in parliament, it is therefore statuted, that every preacher of God's word shall

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hereafter wear black, grave, and comely apparel, beseeming men of their estate and profession; likewise, that all priors, abbots, and prelates, having vote in parliament, and especially bishops, shall wear grave and decent apparel, agreeable to their function, and as appertains to men of their rank, dignity, and place." The act concludes with conferring a peculiar privilege upon his Majesty, prefacing the grant, which afterwards gave rise to much discussion, by a strain of flattery, most disgusting in itself, but ludicrous when viewed in connection with the occasion upon which it was used. "And because the whole estates humbly and thankfully acknowledge that God of his great mercy has made the people and subjects of this country so happy as to have a King reign over us, who is most godly, wise, and religious, hating all erroneous and vain superstition, just in government, and of long experience therein, knowing better than any king living, what appertains, and is convenient for every estate in their behaviour and duty, therefore, it is agreed and assented to by the said estates, that what order soever his Majesty in his great wisdom shall think meet to prescribe for the apparel of churchmen, the same being sent in writ by his Majesty to his clerk of register, shall be a sufficient warrant to him for inserting thereof in the books of parliament, to have the strength and effect of an act." *

* Murray's Collections of Acts of Parliament, p. 398—401. Cal-

The bishops had earnestly urged the restoration of their civil jurisdiction, from the idea of its being calculated to extend their influence, and to mark that distinction between them and the other clergy, which the church was so reluctant to recognize, and it is probable, that they were influenced by the same motive, in adapting their dress to the high rank which had now been assigned to them. * They would have acted more wisely, and more for the real interest and respectability of their order, had they shewn less anxiety to violate those maxims respecting the nature of the clerical office which had been so often enforced by General Assemblies, and which were so consonant to reason and scripture; had they distinguished themselves by the conscientious discharge of their pastoral duties, rather than by the sentences pronounced in their courts; and, whilst it must be admitted that decency in external appearance in a certain degree influences the judgment, it may surely be doubted, whether the black and comely apparel of the bishops would so fascinate the people, as to lead them to revere those who wore it more than they had done the plain men who, with unwearied though humble zeal, had laboured to be adorned with the graces of the divine life. The error, however of the prelates, or of the court, has been often

derwood, p. 612. Spottiswoode, p. 512. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 25. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 700.

* Calderwood, p. 603.

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committed, and arises from principles in our nature; for in all governments, and in all churches, we see men claiming respect for integrity, or for talents, not because they possess either, but from the situations in which accident or folly generally has placed them.

1609.

1610. Spottiswoode becomes a Lord of Session.

The bishops now threw aside the mask, which, from prudential considerations, they had hitherto worn. They had affected the most tender regard for the discipline which they were insidiously labouring to subvert, but at length, supported by honours and rank, and sure of the aid of the crown, they reverted to practices by which the purity and utility of the hierarchy had been gradually destroyed. It was one great object of the reformers, to draw back churchmen to their sacred vocation; to impress upon them, that the ministers of religion should occupy themselves in communicating moral and religious instruction; that, in the corrupt state of human nature, this was a work requiring constant exertion, and that it was criminal to assume a character, or to hold an office, the intention of which it was resolved flagrantly to violate. Accordingly, although they could not at once accomplish this interesting revolution, they from the beginning inculcated the principles upon which they rested its propriety. They especially decided, that the duties of a lord of session, which had frequently been discharged by the clergy, were incompatible with those of a pastor, and they had succeeded, be-

fore the accession of James to the English throne, in abolishing so enormous an abuse. Spottiswoode, archbishop of Glasgow, was the first who ventured to trample upon the laws of the church relating to this matter, for, within a few months after the dissolution of parliament, he became a judge of the court of session; a step which in him was with peculiar fervour reprobated, because his venerable father, the superintendent of Lothian, had requested the General Assembly to declare, that the preaching of the word and the ministration of civil justice were not compatible in one man's person. * CHAP. XI. 1610.

Had the bishops, however, limited their ambition to the administration of justice, and to obtaining a decided superiority over their brethren, they might, although they resisted the wishes of the nation, have ultimately secured the esteem of the people, and, by gradually removing their prejudices, or changing their sentiments, have brought them to perceive, that, under the new ecclesiastical constitution, all the advantages of religious instruction, and of religious knowledge, might be obtained. But, unhappily, they soon exhibited themselves, not as the fathers of those whose spiritual interests they should have promoted, but as the tame agents of despotism, undertaking the administration of a court which struck at the foundation of liberty, and which tended to destroy that sense of independence, and High Court of Commission constituted. Feb.

* Calderwood, p. 615. and MSS. Vol. VI. p. 224, 225. Crawford's Life of Spottiswoode, in Lives of Officers of State, p. 167.

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that consciousness of security under the protection of law, without which there is no just government, and no tie of allegiance.

When Henry the Eighth, in the caprice of passion, shook off the papal yoke, and assumed the title of head of the church, he granted to the Earl of Cromwell the privilege of judging in those ecclesiastical causes which he conceived now to fall under the cognizance of the sovereign. Upon the death of Cromwell this office was executed by commissioners; and hence the court in which they presided received the appellation of the Court of High Commission. Its existence was recognized during the short reign of Edward;—it was of course abolished by Mary, who renounced all claim to the prerogative upon which it was founded;—but it was renewed under the vigorous, though stern and arbitrary government of Elizabeth. Whilst she sat on the throne, it was chiefly occupied in harassing those sincere divines who were contemptuously stiled puritans, and in effectuating this it went in direct opposition to all the maxims of a free constitution. To James, intoxicated by the most romantic and pernicious notions of the unlimited power of kings, it appeared deserving of every support, and its jurisdiction was extended by him beyond the limits within which it had been generally before confined. Believing that passive obedience was a duty enjoined by religion, he thought that all who did not yield it were equally guilty as the puritans, and in-

deed, by a strange abuse of language, this epithet was applied to every man who held in estimation the great principles of political freedom. * CHAP. XI. 1610.

Delighted with the means which, through this court, he could employ for distressing or imprisoning, or banishing his subjects, and thus compelling them to silent submission, the King had, about two years before this period, formed the design of establishing a similar court in Scotland, and endeavouring, by its arbitrary proceedings, to eradicate that turbulent spirit, before which he had in early life often trembled. † The state of the country, or the apprehension of resistance, delayed the evil; but the time at length appearing favourable, an act of council, under the great seal, was addressed to the two archbishops of St Andrew's and Glasgow, erecting a court of high commission in each of their provinces, and defining the powers of the judges. A number of the bishops, and some of the most distinguished of the laity, were constituted members of these courts; and any five of them were declared competent to act, provided one of the five was an archbishop. They were authorized to call summarily before them all persons being offenders, either in life or religion, whom they held to be any way scandalous, and proceed to their trial; and

* Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 177. Neal's History of the Puritans under the reign of Elizabeth, and more particularly in Vol. II. p. 73—78.

† Calderwood, p. 580—582.

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if they found them impenitent, to issue a mandate to the pastors, under whose ministry they lived, to pronounce against them the sentence of excommunication. If the pastors refused to comply, the court was empowered to proceed against them by suspension, deposition, or imprisonment. They were also empowered to fine, at their discretion, such persons as had been dragged to their bar, and as appeared to them to be guilty. They could even imprison them; a warrant of the commissioners, signed by the archbishop, being sufficient for all jailors to bury in dungeons the unhappy men who had fallen under the displeasure of this detestable inquisition. In cases of contumacy, the privy-council were commanded to employ the whole force of government in executing the sentences pronounced by the court of commission; and if the persons summoned did not obey the order of the council, they were denounced as rebels, and subjected to all the weight of punishment inflicted upon the enemies of the state. It might have appeared, even to the abetters of despotism, that the clauses already specified gave a sufficient range for the exercise of tyranny; but James farther authorized the commissioners to watch over the conduct and conversation of all ministers, preachers, teachers in schools, colleges, or universities, and to proceed against those who used what were termed impertinent speeches in public; in other words, a system of jealous inspection was established, which destroyed

all confidence amongst men, and annihilated the happiness derived from the intercourse of society. * 1610.

Thus did James, by the exertion of his own authority, and without soliciting the intervention of Parliament, attempt to trample under foot every vestige of liberty, to overthrow the constitution of what in many respects was a free country, and to spread the misery and the despair which, where the best feelings are not unhappily blunted, are the melancholy attendants of arbitrary government. In this illegal and disgraceful work, he chose to employ those ministers of religion, who were already regarded as apostates, and who, by becoming the instruments of wresting from their countrymen the most valuable blessings, were, from this period, regarded, often indeed with secret, but always with deep-rooted abhorrence. The pretence upon which the courts of commission were instituted, was to prevent the council exercising jurisdiction in spiritual matters, of which the church had often complained; but it was evident to the most superficial observer, that the real object was to invest the bishops with such formidable authority, as might prevent the re-

* Row's MS. Hist. p. 140—147. Calderwood, p. 616—619, has inserted the act of council establishing the high court of commission. He who can read it without honest indignation, is prepared for the most tyrannical oppression. Spottiswoode, p. 514, 515. Epistolæ Philadelphi, p. 101.

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sistance which the court was aware that they had reason to dread. *

1610. All the horrors then which were anticipated from the existence of these courts, and all the distressing scenes to which they gave occasion, were thus naturally associated with episcopacy, producing feelings and sentiments with respect to that form of ecclesiastical polity, of which in these happy times it is difficult to form a conception, but the nature and the strength of which we shall soon have occasion to estimate. It may, indeed, at first sight appear, that, except in so far as the exaltation of the bishops was promoted by the court of commission, they should not have been regarded as peculiarly connected with so vile an institution, because numbers of the nobility were associated with them, who it might be expected would assist. The fact, however, was otherwise, and the clause in the deed of erection, giving to five of the judges, including the archbishop, full authority to act, explains how it was so. The temporal peers, engaged in other pursuits, seldom attended; most of them from their disgust at the ambition of the clergy, voluntarily absented themselves; and hence, as the bishops were constantly present, and almost solely conducted the proceedings, the odium which these excited was attached to the prelatical order. †

A General Assembly.

The King had now succeeded in restoring to the

* Calderwood, p. 619. Altare Damascenum, printed 1623, p. 28.

† Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. B. ii. p. 29, of edi-

bishops their rank as lords of parliament; he had committed to them the most extensive powers; and, having advanced thus far, he believed that he might now, with their assistance, procure an assembly of the church which would sanction the innovations that he had introduced, and surrender the rights or the existence of the presbyterian polity. Apprehensive, however, that if the ministers were left to follow the dictates of their own minds, they would choose as their representatives men animated by the zeal which had been often honourably displayed, and who would not hesitate to thwart his measures, no means were omitted which seemed calculated to advance the schemes of the court. At the suggestion of the bishops, his Majesty addressed a letter to the different presbyteries, intimating his intention of summoning a General Assembly, and requiring them to make choice of the wisest, the most discreet, and most peaceably disposed ministers, instructed with a sufficient commission. He then stated what were the subjects upon which they were to deliberate, artfully avoiding what was calculated to alarm them; and, that they might be in no doubt respecting his wishes as to the persons to be chosen; he added, "and because, by our letters, we have particularly acquainted the archbishop of St Andrews with our purpose herein, and sent unto him a special note of the names of such as we de-

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tion published at London, 1677. Crawford's Lives, p. 172. Spottiswoode, p. 515. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 703.

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sire to be at our said meeting, it is our pleasure that ye conform yourselves thereto, and make choice of the persons that we take to be fittest for giving advice in all matters, wherein ye shall do us acceptable service." The archbishop did not neglect to do what was required of him. He wrote to presbyteries in terms of the King's letter, and sent a list of ministers to be elected. In his letter to the presbytery of Chirnside, a copy of which has been preserved, he requested that they would not be singular, the presbyteries of Fife, and, as he heard, the presbytery of Edinburgh, having agreed to the King's desire; hoped that his counsel would be well accepted, and concluded with this significant intimation; "since sudden and wilful conclusions have wrought such bitter effects, I hope ye will not provoke the King's Majesty to wrath without any necessary occasion."*

This conduct was in a high degree indecent, and furnishes decisive proof that both the King and the bishops were fully sensible that they were struggling against popular opinion, and against the real sentiments of the members of the church. The request of the sovereign and the primate is conveyed in language nearly approaching to a command, and taken in conjunction, as it must have

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. VI. p. 261, and printed History, p. 621, 622. In this latter work, he has preserved the official document, and has very faithfully copied from the register the proceedings of the Assembly.

been, with the means which, through the court of commission, could be employed to enforce it, there can be no doubt that it was regarded as designed to intimidate those to whom it was addressed. But the episcopal party did not trust solely to the influence of authority or of fear; they took into estimation those mercenary principles, which, amongst all great bodies of men, too powerfully operate, and by actually distributing money, or by holding out the prospect of emolument, they induced many to adopt a line of conduct from which, had they followed the dictates of integrity, they would have certainly shrunk. * 1610.

Whatever were the methods used to bend the Assembly to a compliance with the new arrangements, these means were to the full extent of the wishes of those by whom they were employed successful, for there was not only no steady opposition, and no resolute attempt to maintain the ecclesiastical constitution for which the church had long struggled, but the propositions which were adopted

* Calderwood, p. 625. Course of Scotch Conformity, p. 53, quoted by Neal, Vol. II. p. 81. Spottiswoode, p. 513, admits the fact that money was distributed, and that some of the discontented considered this as bribery, but he endeavours to vindicate the distribution from this aspersion. It must be admitted, however, that this was rather an unfortunate time for displaying the royal bounty, when measures had been carried, against which many of the clergy had not only professed the warmest zeal, but which, by the most solemn engagements, they were bound to oppose. Epistola de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 13. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 8.

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were sanctioned by the almost unanimous voice of the clergy who were present.* The Earl of Dunbar represented the King, and he fulfilled his duty to his sovereign, by managing with great dexterity the proceedings of the Assembly.† He informed the members of his Majesty's anxiety to establish a good, solid, and perfect order in the discipline of the church, in which there were several points which the King wished to be reformed, and the reformation of which belonged to his royal authority. He then produced the King's letter, in which his Majesty professed his zeal for religion, and took great credit to himself for that zeal not having been weakened; dwelt upon his opposition to papal pretensions; lamented the melancholy effects which had resulted from want of proper order in the church; alluded to his great condescension in calling this Assembly, as he might have effectuated his plans without its concurrence; expressed his doubt respecting the persons to whom delay in amending the ecclesiastical discipline was to be attributed; and then concluded in the following language, admirably suited to a Prince, who, in his foolish anxiety to become absolute, had lost all re-

* Spottiswoode, in his Refutatio Libelli, p. 83, says, that only three of 140 members dissented from the conclusions of the Assembly, and Calderwood, p. 632, confirms the fact of unanimity, with this slight difference from Spottiswoode, that he specifies five who dissented, and seven who did not vote.

† Heylin, in his history of the Presbyterians, p. 387, admits, that the Assembly was managed by the Earl of Dunbar.

spect for the independence of mind which is the noblest possession of a nation: "Having referred the particular imparting of our further pleasure and mind herein, to our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, the Earl of Dunbar, and the right reverend father, our right trusty counsellor, the archbishop of St Andrews; and intending upon their reports to take special notice of every one's affection and forwardness in this service, and thereupon to acknowledge and remember them hereafter, as any fit occasion for their good shall occur, we commit you and your actions, with the good success of the business, to God's good guiding, and bid all of you right heartily farewell." *

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Of the disposition of the Assembly, a decisive proof was afforded by the election of the moderator,—Spottiswoode, Archbishop of Glasgow, one of the most decided advocates of episcopacy, and completely devoted to the court, being, by a great majority, chosen to fill that important office. †

The innovations upon the ecclesiastical polity were immediately proposed, and after several days

Its decisions.

* Calderwood, p. 629, 630. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 700. This writer gives the substance of the letter from a MS. copy of the Acts of the Assembly; but although he mentions the King's referring the members to Dunbar and the archbishop, he has not given the clause of the letter which follows, and which I have inserted above.

† Calderwood, p. 628. Life of Spottiswoode prefixed to his History. It is written by a warm admirer of Spottiswoode, and should be compared with the less favourable representations of his character to which I have already referred. Crawford's Lives, p. 167.

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had been spent in deliberation, or probably in adjusting the arrangements, and weighing the language in which they were to be announced, the following decided resolutions were adopted. * It was ordained, "1. That the indiction of General Assemblies of the church belonged to his Majesty, by the prerogative of his crown; that all such convocations, held without his permission, were unlawful; that the Assembly, held in Aberdeen in 1605, without his Majesty's authority, was null and void, and that an Assembly should be held once a-year. 2. That synods should be kept in every diocese twice a-year, in April and October, in which the archbishop or bishop of the diocese should be moderator; and that where, from the extent of the dioceses it was expedient that there should be several other meetings, a clergyman appointed by the archbishop or bishop should preside. 3. That no sentence of excommunication, or absolution, should be pronounced against, or in favour of any person, without the knowledge and approbation of the bishop of the diocese, who must be answerable to his Majesty for the regularity of his proceedings; and that, when a process has been fairly and legally finished, sentence should be pronounced at the bishop's direction, by the minister of the parish in which the offender dwells. To this regulation it

* Compare Collier, Vol. II. p. 700, with Spottiswoode, p. 512. Calderwood, p. 631, mentions, that the deliberations took place, not in the Assembly, but in the privy conference.

was added, that if the bishop should delay pronouncing sentence against any person that deserved it, whose process had proceeded to a proper length, and should be convicted of this by the General Assembly, advertisement should be made to his Majesty, to the effect that another prelate might be elected to the see. 4. That, for the future, all presentations should be directed to the bishop of the diocese; that a testimonial of the life and abilities of the person presented should be sent to the bishop, by the neighbouring ministry; and that the bishop, upon his own examination; finding him qualified, should take the assistance of the ministers of the district in which the person is to officiate, and then perfect the whole act of ordination. 5. That, in cases of deposition, the bishop, with some ministers in the neighbourhood where the delinquent officiated, should proceed to try the cause, and to pronounce sentence. 6. That every minister, at his admission, should swear obedience to his Majesty and his ordinary, according to the following form, agreed upon at a conference held in the year 1571. 'I, A. B. nominated and admitted to the church of D, utterly testify and declare, in my conscience, that the right excellent, right high and mighty Prince James the Sixth, by the grace of God King of Scots, is the only lawful supreme governor of this realm, as well in things temporal as in conservation and purgation of the religion; and that no foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate,

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has, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm; and therefore I utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and promise, that, from this time forth, I shall and will bear faith and true allegiance to his highness, his heirs, and lawful successors, and to my power shall assist and defend all jurisdictions, privileges, pre-eminences, and authorities granted and belonging to his highness, his heirs and lawful successors, or united and annexed to his royal crown. And farther, I acknowledge and confess to have and hold the said church, and possessions of the same (under God only) of his Majesty and crown royal of this realm, and for the said possessions I do homage presently unto his highness in your presence, and to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors, shall be lawful and true. So help me God.' 7. That the visitation of the diocese should be done by the bishop himself, and, if the bounds were greater than he could overtake, that he should then make special choice and appoint some worthy minister of the diocese to visit for him; and that whatever minister should, without lawful excuse, refuse to appear at the visitation or diocesan assembly, should be suspended from his office and benefice, and if he did not amend should be deprived. 8. That exercise of doctrine should be continued weekly amongst the ministers at the time of their accustomed meetings,

to be moderated by the bishop, if he were present; or if not, by any other whom he should appoint at the time of synod. 9. That the bishops should be subject in all things concerning their life, conversation, office, and benefice, to the censure of the General Assembly, and being found culpable, should, with his Majesty's consent and advice, be deprived. 10. That no bishop should be elected under forty years of age, and who had not actually taught as a minister for ten years. Lastly, That no minister, either in the pulpit or in public exercise, should argue against or disobey the acts of this present Assembly, under the penalty of deprivation, and particularly, that the question of equality or inequality in the ministry should not be discussed in the pulpit, under the same forfeiture."*

* Row's MS. Hist. p. 147—154. Collier, Vol. II. p. 700, 701, from a MS. copy of the Acts of Assembly. Calderwood's MS. Vol. VI. p. 267—271, and printed History, p. 631, 632, and 634, 635. In the printed work, he says, that he copied from the register word for word. Epistola de Reginine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 13, 14, and Epistolæ Philadelphi, &c. p. 102. Spottiswoode's History, p. 512, 513. In comparing these writers, some differences are to be noticed, which incidentally shew the sentiments of the authors. Calderwood, as I mentioned, has copied accurately from the register, Collier has made some change in the expression, but has, in general, given the meaning very faithfully. In the tenth article, for ten years, he says some years; in the fourth article, instead of simply transcribing "perfect the whole work of ordination," he observes, "and then, as the manuscript speaks, perfect the whole act,"—intimating, that he was not quite satisfied with the phrase. The charge to be made against Spottiswoode is of a much more serious nature. Although he was moderator of the Assembly, and must, when he

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By these decisions, the Assembly struck a severe blow at the Presbyterian polity. The great object for which Melvil and they who adopted his

wrote his History, have had full access to the official record, he has not only misrepresented some of the articles, and suppressed some clauses, but two of the articles he has entirely omitted. That this was not the effect of accident or of negligence, is evident, from the nature of the alterations and omissions. The first article, as it is in the register, provides, that an Assembly should be held once a-year. The archbishop, in the article as given by him, makes not the least allusion to this important stipulation, which, he knew when he wrote, had been flagrantly violated. In the third article, instead of the words answerable to his Majesty, Spottiswoode has, answerable to God and his Majesty; and he leaves out the concluding clause of the article, which was not consistent with his high notions of episcopal dignity. In the sixth article he omits the form of the oath, perhaps from his having been struck with the curious fact, that there is in it no mention of the ordinary, to whom the minister was said to swear, a fact upon which Calderwood, not without some plausibility, rests a conjecture, that the words to his ordinary had been inserted in the article after it was enacted. Calderwood, p. 638. The primate omits entirely the ninth article, by which bishops were, in all things, subjected to the Assembly, authorizing even their deposition if they were found guilty; and also the tenth, respecting the age of a bishop, and the necessity of his having been ten years an officiating minister before he could obtain a mitre. If we suppose that the history was printed exactly as it was written by the author, the conduct of Spottiswoode cannot be too severely reprobated; for he was attempting to mislead posterity, and to support, by an unfair or false representation, the authority and the powers of the Scotish prelates. It is proper, however, to observe, that most unwarrantable freedom was used with the archbishop's manuscript. Crawford, in his Life of Spottiswoode, mentions, that the copy left for publication had, to use his own expression, fallen into bad hands; and Wodrow, in many places of his valuable collection of manuscripts, not only states the same fact, but contrasts the printed work with what had been actually written by the primate. We may, therefore, for the honour

sentiments had contended, was the power and the independence of General Assemblies; these Assemblies were the fountain of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and, whilst they were permitted to be held, and remained free from the control of the court, the privileges of the church could not be endangered. The justness of these views soon became apparent. From the time that the schemes of innovation were openly avowed, James made unceasing and open attempts to gain the complete command of General Assemblies; and the Assembly, the transactions of which have now been recorded, by surrendering so much to the King, yielded the citadel which Presbyterians should have eagerly defended. The stipulation in favour of annual Assemblies, which was probably made to soothe the zealous ministers, or to furnish the lukewarm with a pretence for justifying their apostacy, amounted to nothing; for, as no Assembly was valid which the King did not sanction, it might have been apparent, even to the most careless, that he would never summon those who were to resist him, and that, by degrading submission alone, the ruins of presbytery would be permitted to exist.

of a writer who often shews considerable candour, and who was possessed of talents highly respectable, hope, that some of the changes which have been noticed are to be ascribed to the editor; but it is impossible not to deplore the influence of party spirit, which darkens the understanding, and perverts that integrity which is the basis of virtue.

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The bishops obtained from the Assembly undisputed superiority. They were constituted moderators of the inferior ecclesiastical judicatories; they were invested with the sole right of visitation, and although, in admitting to the ministry, or in excluding from it, they were required to call in some of the neighbouring ministers, the presbytery was overlooked, and they could thus join with themselves such pastors as had no reluctance to yield submission. They were also authorized to receive all presentations; to appoint to such vacant livings as had previously been filled by presbyteries; and the oath which they were entitled to exact from all who entered into the church, gave to them the most formidable influence. Yet, even in this Assembly, compliant in too many respects, as it undoubtedly was, there were some unequivocal symptoms of that unruly, or, to speak more properly, of that manly and independent spirit which had set bounds to the prerogative of the crown, and nobly defended the rights of the people. The existence of Assemblies was made, it must be owned, to hang almost entirely upon the will of the sovereign; but the general maxim that those Assemblies were superior to bishops, and that they could try and depose the prelates, was explicitly maintained; and a provision was thus made for regaining the liberty which the artful and injudicious policy of the monarch was now leading them to suspend. This striking part of the resolutions of the Assembly at

Glasgow, satisfactorily establishes that there was no departure from what may be called the principle upon which the presbyterian polity rested; in other words, that there was no admission that bishops were by divine appointment a superior order, or invested with powers, which, according to Scripture, their brethren could not warrantably exercise. The whole of the innovations proceeded upon views of human expediency,—the members of the Assembly wished to gratify the King; but had it been proposed to declare that episcopacy was the mandate of heaven, and that it was essential to the constitution of a pure Christian church, the whole power of the court would have been insufficient to extort the declaration.

The concluding article shews very strikingly what was the state of the public mind with regard to the changes authorized by the Assembly. It has been exultingly stated, that these changes were introduced in consequence of the almost unanimous resolution of a great proportion of the clergy in Scotland.* But had this numerous body expressed the sentiments of the community, there could have been no reason for preventing them from directing the attention of their congregations to what was uniformly acceptable, and thus eradicating the few prejudices against the new order, which the recollec-

* Spottiswoode's Refutatio Libelli, &c. p. 84—88, compared with Epistola de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 13, 14.

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tion of the zealous presbyterians might still have preserved. Where there is such restraint as that which the article imposes, there is fear:—the bishops and the courtiers, whatever was their ostensible language, knew that, notwithstanding all the success which had attended their efforts, they were struggling against a torrent, and that the least allusion to the polity which they had sought to destroy, might not only be dangerous, but might awaken a spirit which it would be difficult or impossible to resist. Spottiswoode has, in his manner of recording the article, betrayed the uneasiness which he felt. "And last, it was ordained that no minister should speak against any of the foresaid conclusions in public, nor dispute the question of the equality or inequality of ministers, as tending only to the entertainment of schism in the church, and violation of the peace thereof." *

Proclamation enforcing the resolution of the Assembly.

After the dissolution of the Assembly, some opposition was made to its determinations by several of the ministers, who regarded them as contaminating the purity of the church; and in consequence of this a proclamation was issued, commanding all his Majesty's subjects, of every degree, to acquiesce in the resolutions which had been sanctioned at Glasgow, and particularly enjoining "all preaching ministers and lecturing readers, not to presume, either

* Spottiswoode, p. 518. Row's MS. p. 155. For some very judicious reflections on the proceedings of the Assembly, see Calderwood, p. 636—638.

publicly in their sermons, or in private conversation, to impugn, deprave, contradict, condemn, or utter their disallowance or dislike, in any point or article, of these most grave and wise conclusions of that Assembly, ended with such harmony, as they will answer at their highest peril and charge." That the object of the proclamation might be effectually attained, "all sheriffs, stewarts, and magistrates of every description, were required, if they heard or understood of any breach of this commandment, by any preacher, minister, or subject whatsoever, that they fail not instantly to commit the trespasser to some prison or ward, till the lords of the privy-council be warned, and answer returned what should be done farther; and such subjects as had no office were, under pain of being themselves held guilty, to convey information against all who fell under this injunction, to the nearest magistrate." *

Remarks upon the proclamation.

The language and spirit of this edict should rouse the virtuous indignation of all who value the best interests of man. Resting upon the authority of the monarch, or of those who, in his name, exercised the government, it established the horrors of the inquisition,—it destroyed the confidence which is the charm of social intercourse,—it converted the inhabitants of Scotland into spies upon the virtuous feelings of one another,—and it sanctioned a mode

* Calderwood's MS. Vol. VI. p. 271, and printed History, p. 699 Row's MS. p. 156, 157.

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of criminal procedure which could be tolerated only under the depression of despotism. For the slightest opposition to a long series of propositions, at variance with what the King, as well as the people, had sworn to maintain, every man was liable to be immured in a dungeon; he might be seized whereever the villany of his persecutors led them to search for him, even in his own house, and in the bosom of his family, and be deprived of liberty, not till he established his innocence, or demanded a trial, but till the lords of the council, the men who were capable of framing and publishing such a proclamation as has been mentioned, found leisure, or were inclined to intimate what they wished to be done with him. Could that cause be acceptable to the nation which needed support like this? Could any thing be more calculated to inspire detestation at episcopacy, and at everything connected with it, than associating that admirable form of ecclesiastical government with a degree of oppression, which, if it be long endured, eradicates the best feelings, and sinks into the profligacy and degradation of slavery. Yet, because our ancestors were not willing to bow their necks to this iron yoke, because, from the bitter emotions with which they contemplated it, and during the noble stand which they made against it, they branded the tyranny which sought to impose it, they have been represented as unreasonable and seditious enthusiasts; and an enlightened historian, guided much more by his general prin-

ciples than by accurate information, which he did not possess, has endeavoured to excite admiration of his own expanded views and liberal sentiments, by loading, with every term of contemptuous reproach, those venerable men, to whose intrepidity we are indebted for our inestimable political and religious privileges. *

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The proclamation had a powerful effect in intimidating those who might else have freely delivered their sentiments. Dreading that they would be betrayed, the members confined the expression of their disaffection to the synods, from which liberty of speech was not yet taken away. Upon the Archbishop of St Andrews taking his place as moderator of the synod of Fife, several of the members represented this as a violation of the constitution of the church, and the presbytery of Haddington prepared a supplication and protestation against what had been enacted; but all this terminated as might have been expected. "The bishops," to use the words of an old historian, "were become so awful by their grandeur, and the King's assistance, that there was little resistance. Howbeit," he adds, "there was great murmuring and malcontentment, so that their possession was violent." The truth of this representation rests not upon the authority of any one writer; it is rendered apparent by the

* Calderwood, as last quoted. Hume's History of England, Monrose edition, Vol. IV. p. 7, 8.

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public acts of the government, by the conduct of the bishops, and by subsequent events, which can be explained only by admitting what has now been asserted. *

Consecration of three Scotish prelates.

Nearly as the church of Scotland had now approached to the Episcopal model, the King thought that something was still wanting for effecting that religious conformity between England and Scotland, which he so eagerly contemplated. The bishops in the latter kingdom, wanted the character which they could derive only through prelates regularly consecrated; and James, that this defect might be supplied, soon after the conclusion of the

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Assembly at Glasgow, summoned Spottiswoode and two of his colleagues to come to London, and at the same time enjoined the bishops of London, of Ely, and of Bath and Wells, to consecrate the Scotish prelates. Spottiswoode and his brethren seem to have been averse to this step, and insinuated that, by their submitting to consecration, the old pretensions of the English church over that of Scotland, and which had never been admitted, might be revived. The King, who had anticipated this objection, removed it, by informing them that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, who

* Calderwood, p, 640—644. Row's MS. p. 163—165. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 29, and Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 8. Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 88. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 386.

alone could urge the claim to which allusion had been made, were to have no part in the solemnity. A difficulty, however, of a different kind, now occurred, which greatly perplexed the Bishop of Ely. He maintained that it would be necessary, in the first instance, to ordain the Scotish prelates as priests, they having never received episcopal ordination, and then confer on them the higher order. Bancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was standing by, insisted, on the other hand, that this was unnecessary, because, where there were no bishops, ordination by presbyters must be esteemed valid, and that if this were disputed, it might be doubted whether there was any lawful vocation in most of the reformed churches. The Bishop of Ely was satisfied by the judicious observation of the primate, and the work of consecration was then completed. *

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1610.

Oct. 21.

* Spottiswoode, p. 514. The account of this prelate, who was one of the three that were consecrated, is entitled to full confidence. Calderwood's MS. Vol. VI. p. 308, 309, and printed Hist. p. 644. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in Life of Andrew Melvil, p. 103, 104. Row's MSS. p. 157. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 701, 702. Heylin's history of the Presbyterians, p. 387, 388, and Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 252. It is amusing to compare the different narrations of the writers now quoted. Heylin and Skinner were so much impressed with the necessity of the character being conveyed by bishops, that they never give this title to any of the Scotish prelates till they had been consecrated, calling them nominal or designed bishops; and Collier is much shocked with Bancroft's argument, as detailed by Spottiswoode. Speaking of it he says: "With due regard to Bancroft's memory, his ar-

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1610. Impolicy of this measure.

Without entering into the theological merits of the question respecting the necessity of episcopal ordination, which pressed so strongly upon the mind of the King, it may surely be questioned, whether the church of England acted wisely in adopting, as to this point, an opinion which she did not hold for many years after the reformation commenced, and which tended to destroy that union with many of the foreign Protestant churches, which, with so much advantage to the cause of Christianity, she had anxiously maintained. But, whatever decision may be pronounced upon this

gument seems to stand upon a slender bottom; for without doubt neither Luther nor Calvin, Beza, nor Zuinglius, are the standards of discipline and government; 'tis the primitive plan we ought to proceed by in these matters. And therefore, if any modern Christian writers happen to refine upon Catholic measures, and desert from the government of the church, settled for 1500 years together, if any Christians, I say, pretend to reform in this unfortunate manner, though they may call for our pity or our prayers, they ought never to command our imitation." Without making any remark upon this reasoning, or upon the charity displayed for those who have not enjoyed episcopal ordination, I proceed to observe, that he consoled himself for the rash admission of the archbishop, by reflecting on an assertion of Heylin, that Bancroft overruled the scruple of the Bishop of Ely, by telling him, that the higher order included the lower, and that there had been instances of bishops being made per saltum. Heylin gives no authority for the fact of the primate thus reasoning, and as, where high church principles are concerned, he often loses all temper and decency in his narration, there is some reason to suspect, that he puts into the mouth of Bancroft, what he himself considered as the proper answer to the objection. Skinner is quite delighted with Heylin's argument, and, as if he had been personally acquainted with the Bishop of Ely, without scruple affirms, that it is the only argument which could have satisfied him.

matter, there cannot be the slightest doubt that James, by compelling the Scotish prelates to be re-ordained, acted with the same want of policy which marked the whole of his conduct with respect to the religious principles and feelings of his original subjects. The consecration of Spottiswoode and his colleagues certainly implied, or appeared to the inhabitants of Scotland to imply, that those pious men, under whose ministry they had received the most valuable instruction,—for whose hard fate they were now mourning,—and whom they had uniformly venerated as the strenuous defenders of pure religion,—were not warranted to exercise the pastoral office; that the form of ecclesiastical government, for which they had contended, was unscriptural; and that there had been, in fact, no church in Scotland, since popery had been rooted out from that kingdom. And thus, whilst it confirmed all the prejudices which had been fostered against episcopacy, it also strengthened the idea that the King was secretly inclined to the Popish faith; for they joined with the Puritans in England in considering it as an approach to Popish superstition, and they viewed with contempt and abhorrence the prelates who, to ingratiate themselves with the King, had not resisted what they knew to be in direct opposition to the views of that assembly to which they were indebted for the victory that they had acquired. * 1610.

* Calderwood, p. 644. Epistola de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ,

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1612. 22d Oct. Episcopacy confirmed by Parliament.

Although the bishops had now been invested with their high dignity, had been sanctioned by the General Assembly, and had all received, in a regular manner, the episcopal character,—for those of them who had been consecrated in London gave, upon their return, consecration to their colleagues, —yet the law of the land still supported the presbyterian establishment, the celebrated act of 1592 being unrepealed. The King, however, having gained the church, had no apprehension of resistance from the estates; and accordingly, in the first meeting of parliament which took place after the assembly at Glasgow, the acts and conclusions of that assembly were ratified, an explanation of several of the articles was added, and the statute confirming presbytery was rescinded. The omission of the form, according to which ministers were to swear that they would submit to their ordinaries, was now supplied, for, after the oath to the King, it is added, "Also every minister, at his admission, shall swear obedience to his ordinary, according to the form following: I, A. B. now admitted to the church of C, promise and swear to D, bishop of that diocese, obedience, and to his successor, in all lawful things. So help me God." Under pretence of explaining the act of Assembly, some essential alterations in it were made, rendering it very different from what had been approved by the

p. 14, and Epistolæ Philadelphi, p. 102, compared with Spottiswoode's Refutatio Libelli, &c. p. 86—88.

church, but very similar to what Spottiswoode has represented it to have been. The subjection of bishops to the General Assembly was not inserted in the statute; in cases where the prelates neglected to pronounce the sentence of excommunication, they were not rendered liable to a process before the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, but answerable in the discharge of their duty only to God and his Majesty. This breach of faith on the part of the bishops, for as lords of parliament they could have protested against the slightest inconsistency between the law of the land and that which it should have accurately copied, did not tend to erase the impressions unfavourable to their character. It was believed, and probably justly believed, that the alterations had been suggested by themselves; and as all of these tended to enlarge their power, or to exalt their dignity, they were regarded as men who, in the career of ambition, would not be arrested by those dignified and honourable motives which their high and sacred office should have led them peculiarly to respect. *

Episcopacy fully established.

The episcopal form of church government was thus introduced into Scotland, and was thus fully established. It is impossible not to be struck with the singular contrast between the mode in which

* Acts of Parliament collected by Sir Thomas Murray of Glendook, p. 407—408. Calderwood, p. 646—647. Spotiswoode, p. 518. For some remarks upon this subject, see Calderwood's MSS. Vol. VI. p. 823.

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it gained the ascendancy, and the mode in which the presbyterian discipline was endeared to the affections of the nation. In tracing the progress of Melvil, and of those who embraced his views, it was often necessary to advert to the bold language which they assumed, and to that independence of sentiment and conduct which sometimes appeared scarcely reconcilable with submission to government; but they never lost sight of the happiness and the improvement of the people; they acted upon the noble principles of liberty, and uniformly refused to sacrifice to the caprice of the Sovereign, what they believed to be necessary for averting slavery, or for preserving uncontaminated the sources of moral and religious instruction. Stern as their manners appear to those accustomed to the enervating submission which has too often marked the conduct of modern times, they were dear to the inhabitants of Scotland; they were revered from the conviction that, whatever were their errors, no measures hostile to the great ends of the social union could, while they preserved their influence, be proposed or executed by the sovereign. There was nothing in episcopacy itself which should have prevented it from equally avowing and feeling the most tender concern for political freedom; but the fact is undoubted, that it associated itself with the prerogative of the monarch, and advanced under the shelter of that prerogative. From the moment that the design of introducing it began

to be accomplished, the King assumed a tone of authority to which his Scotish subjects had never been accustomed to listen; the Assemblies of the church were controlled; the most unwarrantable acts of oppression were committed; the men who should have preserved the purity of government, debased it by seeking, contrary to justice and to law, to punish all who were obnoxious to the court; and, to crown the whole, that the opposition made to ecclesiastical innovation might be suppressed, the high commission, the most frightful engine of despotism, was transferred to a kingdom, where in the darkest times, it had been happily unknown. Unless then the people of Scotland had been constituted in a different manner from the rest of mankind,—unless the motives and the feelings which decide human conduct had upon them lost their influence,—they could not possibly have regarded episcopacy with the calmness and impartiality which enable us to discern all its advantages; but they must have reprobated it as bearing the chains by which they were fettered, and must have been convinced, that its destruction was essential for curbing the tyranny of the crown,—for restoring the security and confidence which had been destroyed,—and for rendering religion what its divine author in infinite mercy gave it to be. How far the bishops, after they had gained their object, laboured to raise the estimation of their order,—how far they accommodated themselves to the sentiments, and pro-

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moted the rights of their countrymen, and how far they succeeded in gaining the affections, which, when they first ascended their episcopal thrones, they certainly did not possess, the progress of this history will render abundantly apparent.

CHAPTER TWELFTH.

The Bishops shew their hostility to Popery....Spottiswoode made Archbishop of St Andrews....New form given to the Court of Commission....Marquis of Huntly reconciled to the Church....New innovations proposed....A General Assembly....Its Acts communicated to the King....He resolves to visit Scotland....He arrives in that Kingdom....A Parliament....The Ministers Protest against an intended Law....Severity shewn to the Protesters....The King consents to an Assembly....He leaves Scotland....An Assembly at St Andrews....King's indignation at its Proceedings....Assembly at Perth.... Articles sanctioned by it....Remarks occasioned by it.... Its Decisions opposed by the zealous Ministers....Activity of the Court of Commission....The Bishops do not gain the esteem of the People....Treaty with Spain concerning the Marriage of the Prince....Consequences which resulted from it....The Prince visits Spain and returns in safety....Death of the King....His Character....Change in the state of opinion in Scotland respecting Ecclesiastical Polity during his Reign.

CHAP. XII.

1614. The Bishops shew their hostility to Popery.

WHILST promoting the revolution which introduced episcopacy into the Scotish church, the bishops, and those who supported them, uniformly professed to enter with the warmest zeal into the popular apprehensions respecting the prevalence of Popery, and having now accomplished their object,

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they wished to give to the people some evidence of their sincerity. The vigorous measures which had been adopted, the institution of the high court of commission, and the dependence of the ministers, in so far as related to their pecuniary comfort, upon the bishops, seem to have produced very general submission to their authority; and, thus left at full leisure to watch the insidious artifices of the emissaries from Rome, who still laboured to seduce from the Protestant faith, they selected one of these emissaries, that his fate might intimidate others from the conduct which they wished to prevent. The Archbishop of Glasgow apprehended a Jesuit of the name of Ogilvie, who had lately come to Scotland, and who was accused, not only of having said mass, but of having perverted the religious principles of several young men in the higher ranks of life. The King, upon being informed of this, issued an order for the prisoner's examination and trial. To the questions which were put to him, he gave general or evasive answers, refusing to tell with whom he associated; but, with the zeal of his order, declaring that he had come to Scotland to save souls. His judges, offended at his obstinacy, determined, according to the barbarous and shocking practice which long disgraced the judicial proceedings of European nations, to extort from him a confession, and, with detestable cruelty, they kept him for several nights from enjoying sleep. In the delirium thus produced, he uttered what was

considered as militating against him; but upon the return of reason, or of nervous energy, he preserved the utmost consistency, and displayed unshaken fortitude. The King having learnt that nothing satisfactory could be ascertained without having recourse to torture, humanely prohibited it from being applied,—instructing the judges, that if Ogilvie was guilty merely of saying mass, they should send him out of the country; but that if he had been engaged in any schemes hostile to the peace of the kingdom, or had attempted to stir up the people against their sovereign, they should leave him to the usual course of law and justice. For discovering his intentions, the King suggested various questions respecting the extent of papal power, whether it was limited to spiritual matters, or embraced temporal supremacy, and whether the Pope could depose kings whom he had excommunicated, or free subjects from their duty to their lawful prince. Ogilvie gave the most guarded replies as to the power of the Pope in temporal matters; but he acknowledged that the Pontiff could excommunicate the King, and that all who had been baptized were under the dominion of the successor of St Peter. Upon this, as implying treason, he was soon after formally tried, and having refused to retract his assertions, and in the most insulting manner conducted his defence, he was found guilty, and, on the afternoon of that day upon which sentence had been pronounced against him, he was publicly ex-

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ecuted. Another Jesuit, who about the same time had been apprehended, but who condemned the positions of Ogilvie, was allowed to leave the kingdom, James having most properly resolved, that he would never hang a priest merely for his religion. *

1614.

1615. Spottiswoode made Archbishop of St Andrews. 2d May.

In the following year, upon the death of the Archbishop of St Andrews, the courtly zeal of Spottiswoode was rewarded by his promotion to the vacant see, the highest office in the Scotish church. When the appointment was intimated to him, he heard of it with real or affected regret, but he did not decline accepting it, and, as soon as the requisite steps were taken, he went with a splendid retinue to St Andrews, and was inaugurated in presence of many of his suffragan bishops. †

Within a few days after his exaltation, he summoned before the high commission, Malcolm, one of the ministers of Perth, who in a dedicatory epistle which he had prefixed to a commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles, had requested the King to recall the banished ministers, alleging, that they were more faithful subjects to him than those who had obtained lucrative benefices, and had regretted

* Spottiswoode, p. 521—523. Calderwood, p. 649, 650. This writer does not attribute the execution of Ogilvie to any warm zeal for the Protestant faith, and in this he is supported by the subsequent conduct of many of the bishops. Wodrow's MSS. Vol III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 52—55.

† Spottiswoode, p. 523, 524. Row's MS. p. 176. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 55, 56. Calderwood, p. 650, and MSS. Vol. VI. p. 342.

the corruption brought into the church by unlearned and unsanctified men. The archbishop, however, did not proceed with severity, for Malcolm, upon explaining the obnoxious passages, and, to satisfy his Majesty, subscribing the explanation, was dismissed. *

1615.

By the original deed extending the high commission to Scotland, two courts were erected, but this was found to be attended with inconvenience, and to defeat the objects of the institution. The two courts were now in consequence united, and a new deed or mandate, defining its powers, and the odious privileges of those who composed it, was upon this occasion issued. †

New form given to the Court of Commission. Dec. 21. 1616.

An incident, connected with the proceedings of this Court, soon after excited a strong sensation in Scotland, and threatened to create much discontent, even amongst those who had hitherto been most obsequious in modelling the church agreeably to the wishes of the King. The Marquis of Huntly, notwithstanding the numerous assurances which he had given of his determination to renounce Popery, still continued devoted to that religion, and had

Marquis of Huntly reconciled to the church.

* Row's MS. History, p. 177. Calderwood's MS. Vol. VI. p. 346, and printed History, p. 650.

† Calderwood, p. 650—654, and MSS. Vol. VI. p. 349—354. There seems to have been considerable difference of sentiment about the mode in which the court should exist, for the Archbishop of Glasgow, sometime after this, had one again instituted in his diocese. Row's MS. p. 199. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 60.

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even prevented some of his dependants from attending the discourses of Protestant ministers. For this flagrant disrespect to the laws of his country, he was summoned before the high commission, but having refused to subscribe the confession of faith, or to make any apology for what had happened, he was committed by this court to the castle of Edinburgh. In a day or two after, however, he was, by a warrant from the chancellor, set at liberty, and having, previous to his being imprisoned, obtained permission to go to London, he immediately commenced his journey. The clergy loudly complained of this act of the chancellor, by which the dignity and authority of their court could not fail to sink in public estimation, and they dispatched the Bishop of Caithness to lay their complaints before the sovereign. James could not, consistently, withdraw his countenance from his own institution; he accordingly approved of what it had done; and he sent a messenger, with an order to the Marquis, who had not yet reached the metropolis, to return to his confinement in the castle. Huntly, who was within a few miles of London, earnestly solicited that he might be admitted to the King's presence, promising that he would submit to whatever his Majesty should enjoin. James, who was warmly attached to him, and who was gratified with the idea of making a convert, allowed him to proceed, and recommended him to the instructions of the Archbishop of Canterbury; but the sentence of

excommunication by the Scotish church being still in force, he could not be received into the Protestant communion till that sentence was removed. The difficulty of doing this was at once discerned. According to every maxim of ecclesiastical government, it should have been revoked by the church which pronounced it; and the interference of any other church, it was obvious, might be resented as an encroachment which it was necessary to resist. The King, however, in his eagerness to gratify the marquis, could not patiently wait till the opinion of his northern prelates was obtained, and the Bishop of Caithness having, in the name of his brethren, though without any warrant from them, given his consent, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his chapel at Lambeth, pronounced, in the manner least likely to give offence, the absolution of Huntly, who afterwards received the communion. When information of this reached Scotland, the bishops and clergy were not unnaturally filled with indignation, and, to reconcile them to what had happened, the marquis was enjoined to present a supplication to a General Assembly, which was soon to be held, stating his resolution to continue in the truth, and to educate his children in the Protestant faith. *

1616.

* Spottiswoode, p. 525—528. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. VI. An. 1616, and printed History, p. 755. Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 81—84. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 60—65.

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1616. New ecclesiastical innovations proposed.

The attention which had been fixed on the absolution of the Marquis of Huntly was soon drawn to new ecclesiastical schemes which the King wished to be adopted. Hitherto he had gained only the establishment of episcopacy, but he was desirous to go much farther, and to render the worship and ceremonies of the Scotish church in all respects the same with what were practised in England. Actuated by unwearied anxiety to extend his prerogative, he viewed with antipathy the puritans who hesitated to conform to the English ritual; he considered them as hostile to his government; and he was solicitous to prevent the diffusion of their sentiments in Scotland, by disseminating in that kingdom the political principles avowed by the clergy in the southern part of the island,—principles which he attributed to the ecclesiastical constitution under which they lived.

The Scotish bishops had every desire to gratify the monarch; but they had too much penetration not to discern that it was necessary to advance with the utmost caution, and that an attempt to follow the precipitate course which had been marked out to them, might rekindle the zeal with which James himself had found that it was so difficult to struggle. The state of Popery in the north, brought under

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 29. Crawford's Life of Spottiswoode, in his Lives of Officers of State, p. 172. Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 193.

their review by the practices of the Marquis of Huntly, afforded them an ostensible pretext for summoning a General Assembly, in which, amidst the acts proposed for the security of the reformed faith, they hoped to procure some resolutions tending to carry into execution the plan which the King had devised. To prevent opposition, however, even to what had been already gained, they took every precaution in the election of commissioners, employing for this purpose means which the zealous presbyterians would have loudly condemned. * The Assembly met at Aberdeen, and the Archbishop of St Andrews, as if it had constituted one of the privileges of his high situation, without any election, presided as moderator. A number of regulations for suppressing Popery, and promoting the general reception of the reformed faith, were readily adopted; and when this part of the business was finished, the state of the church itself was taken into consideration. The resolutions affecting it were not brought forward till towards the conclusion of the Assembly, and after many of the ministers from a distance had left the city; a circumstance, which, although it might ostensibly be ascribed to the more pressing nature of the danger apprehended from Popery, which the members therefore first laboured to avert, was represented as originating from the persuasion, that if all the com-

A General Assembly. 13th Aug.

* Calderwood's History, p. 656.

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missioners had been present, the difficulty experienced in passing these resolutions would have been greatly increased. A new confession of faith, in which the doctrines of the first reformers were explicitly asserted, and which, in so far as it relates to the constitution of the church, displays the utmost moderation, was composed and sanctioned; a commission was given to the bishops and some of the ministers, by which they were invested with ample powers for regulating ecclesiastical affairs; a catechism was ordered to be composed; and some statutes were added, which it is proper to insert, as throwing light upon those momentous events which exerted such influence upon the situation of Britain.* "It is ordained, that a uniform order of liturgy be set down, to be read in all churches in the ordinary days of prayer, and every Sabbath-day before sermon, to the end the common people may be acquainted therewith, and by custom may learn to serve God rightly. And to this intent the Assembly hath appointed certain ministers to revise the

* Calderwood, p. 668—673, and MSS. Vol. VI. p. 372—378, has recorded this new confession, which affords one proof of many that the reformers held the doctrine of Calvin respecting election and predestination, and that they would have shrunk from the interpretation which so many in the church of England, in opposition to the plain meaning of words, are now solicitous to give to the celebrated 17th Article,—an article conveyed in terms commonly used at the period of its being composed, then fully understood, and certainly not weakened by the feeble efforts of the Bishop of Lincoln, in his Refutation of Calvinism.

book of common-prayer contained in the Psalm-book, and to set down a common form of ordinary service, to be used at all times hereafter, which shall be used in time of common-prayer, in all churches where there is exercise of common prayers, as likewise by the minister, before the sermon, when there is no reader." In the Scotish church there had been, from the introduction of the Reformation, certain forms of prayer which it was lawful to use; but every minister was at liberty to depart from these, and to substitute such prayers as he thought the circumstances of his congregation required. * The design of the new regulation was to take away this liberty, and to introduce, as in England, a liturgy to be invariably repeated. To the ordinance respecting the liturgy the following resolution was added: "It is thought most necessary and expedient, that there be an uniformity of church-discipline throughout all the churches of this kingdom, and to that effect it is ordained, that a book of canons be made and published in print, drawn forth of the books of former Assemblies, and where the same is defective, that it be supplied by canons of councils, and ecclesiastical conventions in former times." The Archbishop of Glasgow, and William Struthers, minister of Edinburgh, were appointed to put in

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* See some curious and satisfactory information respecting the practice of the Scotish church as to forms of prayer, in a note to Dr M'Crie's Life of Knox.

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form the said ecclesiastical canons, and to present them to the commissioners named by the Assembly, who were authorized to examine and approve them. It was finally agreed, upon this subject, that, after the approbation of the commissioners had been given, a petition should be presented to the King, that he would sanction them by his royal authority, and permit them to be published. Regulations were also adopted, respecting the examination of children, with a view, although the article was obscurely expressed, of introducing the practice of confirmation,—respecting the frequency of dispensing the Lord's Supper, and the necessity of doing so at Easter,—and respecting the administration of baptism. It was wisely enacted that the parish-registers of births, marriages, and deaths, should be accurately kept, and that the King should be requested to make these registers legal evidence of the facts which they testified.*

* Row's MS. History, p. 178, 179. Calderwood's MS. Vol. VI. as last quoted, and printed History, p. 662—664. Spottiswoode, p. 528. Spottiswoode expressly says, that it was determined that children should be carefully catechised and confirmed by the bishops, or, in their absence, by such as were employed in the visitation of churches; but a reference to the article, as given by Calderwood, from what he calls the clerk's scrolls, will shew that the practice of confirmation, in the present sense of that term, was not authorized; for it states, that all young children of six years age shall be presented, as has been mentioned, to give their confession of faith, that so it may appear in what religion they have been trained. The archbishop, indeed, added in the margin, "and that they be recommended to God by solemn prayer at the time;" but still there was ground for the

There were presented to the Assembly letters from his Majesty and the Archbishop of Canterbury, respecting the absolution of the Marquis of Huntly, and, in conformity with what had been previously settled, the marquis appeared to give satisfaction. From the reluctance which he had ever shewn to comply with the wishes of the church, and his attachment to his own religious persuasion, it may not be uninteresting to know in what manner he now acted. "He declared the sorrow and grief which he had conceived on account of his lying so long under the fearful sentence of excommunication, and therefore he most humbly desired to be absolved from the same. He then, holding up his hand, solemnly promised, before God, to profess and abide by the true religion presently professed within the realm,—to communicate upon the first occasion,—to cause his children, servants, and domestics, to be obedient to the church, and to attend on its ordinances, and not in future to receive into his house, or to permit to reside upon his estates, Papists, Jesuits, or seminary priests. He after this subscribed the confession which the Assembly had approved. *" If, notwithstanding all this, he still, as there is reason to believe, adhered to his former sentiments, he affords a striking example of the

observation made by the King when the article was presented for his approbation,—that it was very confused.

* Calderwood's History, p. 665. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 65—67.

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pernicious effects of compulsion in matters of religion, impressing upon all who attend to his situation, that such compulsion destroys the integrity which it is so honourable to preserve, that it may produce external conformity, but never does so without having subverted those moral principles which it is the great design of religion to strengthen and confirm.

Acts of the Assembly communicated to the King.

Upon the dissolution of the Assembly, a copy of its acts was, by the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishop of Ross, presented to the King, and his ratification of them was solicited. He in general approved of what had been done, but he objected to the act respecting confirmation of children, as not being sufficiently clear; and, in his anxiety to assimilate the mode of divine service in Scotland to what prevailed in England, he sent several regulations, which he required to be inserted amongst the canons ordered to be collected. These regulations were afterwards known by the appellation of the five articles of Perth, and will be accurately recorded in the form in which they were finally approved. It is sufficient here to mention, in general, that they enjoined kneeling at the sacrament; private communion and private baptism, in cases of necessity; confirmation of children, and the observance of certain festivals kept in the English church. The bishops were filled with anxiety and astonishment when the intentions of his Majesty were communicated. The persons appointed to collect the canons had been expressly limited to the acts of the Assemblies of

the church, or to the canons of councils in former times, and had they ventured to insert what the King prescribed, they would probably have occasioned the most violent dissatisfaction. Spottiswoode and the other prelates were so firmly convinced of this, that they humbly represented the difficulties which they apprehended, and informed James, that nothing could be placed amongst the canons which had not been proposed to the church. He yielded to the representation of men whose attachment to him he knew to be sincere; but unfortunately he did not relinquish his design, resting satisfied with deferring it, till it could, without inconvenience, be carried into execution. *

1617. The King resolves to visit Scotland.

About this time he resolved to visit Scotland, and, in intimating this resolution, he not unnaturally ascribed it to the desire, so congenial with the feelings of a good heart, to revisit the scenes of his early life. To remove the apprehensions which, notwithstanding this declaration, he suspected might be entertained of his real purpose, he professed that he had no intention to alter the civil or ecclesiastical state of his native kingdom; adding, however, this ambiguous intimation, that he desired to do some

* Spottiswoode, p. 528, 529. Crawford's life of Spottiswoode, in Lives of Officers of State, p. 172, 173. This writer erroneously states, that the articles were sent to the Assembly. Collier, Vol. II. p. 709, commits the same mistake. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 93, gives what he calls the sentence of the Assembly, confounding the letter of the archbishop with an act of the church.

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good at his coming, and to discharge some points of his kingly office in reforming abuses, both in the church and commonwealth. * He sent instructions to repair the royal chapel before his arrival, and dictated the manner in which this repair was to be executed. The people heard with amazement of the changes to be made in the appearance of the structure. Paintings or statues of the apostles were to be placed in it, and this circumstance gave rise to a report, that images were to be introduced, and that the mass would soon follow. Cowper, bishop of Galloway, who was dean of the chapel, and who, although he had conformed to the ecclesiastical innovations, was a sincere Protestant, entered into the feelings of the multitude, and conceived it to be his duty to represent to the King the propriety of departing from an intention which would spread dissatisfaction through the kingdom. The letter containing his representation was also subscribed by the Archbishop of St Andrews, and some of the other prelates; but the archbishop seems to have regarded the fears of the people as totally without foundation. Cowper, however, was serious; for, in a letter which he wrote to one of his friends, he informed him, that the bishops had succeeded in getting images discharged, and he requested him to take some pains to shew, that the

* Spottiswoode, p. 629, compared with Calderwood, p. 679. Rapin's history of England, Vol. II. p. 193. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 178.

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refusal of images was reasonable. The King was highly displeased with this interference; and although he did not esteem it prudent to disregard it, he sharply rebuked the bishops for their officiousness; ascribed it to their narrow views; and not very graciously informed them, that he would bring with him some English doctors to enlighten their minds. With his usual tenderness for his prerogative, he attributed his determination to refrain from erecting the statues, or from suspending the pictures, not to the real cause, but to his finding that the work could not be done so quickly as he had imagined. * 1617. March 18.

The King arrives in Scotland. 13th May.

The design of visiting Scotland which the King had announced, gave no pleasure to those who conducted the administration of government, and they even entreated him to delay it; but, paying to this no attention, he commenced his journey, and upon his arrival was, with every testimony of respect and loyalty, welcomed to Edinburgh. † He embraced

* Spottiswoode, p. 529, 530, compared with Calderwood, p. 673, 674, who has inserted the letter of Cowper to Simson, one of the ministers of Stirling. Cowper was an amiable man. At one period, he had warmly entered into the prevailing views against episcopacy, and had not very decently compared bishops to coals or candles that not only light, but have a filthy smell in all mens noses. Row's MS. history, p. 126, 127. He soon altered his opinion, however, and became a bishop; but he uniformly shewed much moderation, and was guided by sincere attachment to the best interests of religion.

† Row's MS. p. 179. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. VI. p. 381. Spottiswoode, p. 530, compared with Guthrie's history, Vol. IX. p. 91. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 68.

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an early opportunity of shewing his attachment to the ceremonies and worship of the church of England, for he not only caused these ceremonies to be observed in his own chapel, but he insisted upon the bishops and the chief nobility receiving the sacrament kneeling,—a practice hitherto unknown in Scotland, since the introduction of the reformation, and regarded as a remnant of the homage which, according to the faith of Rome, was paid to the elements of bread and wine after they had been consecrated. *

A Parliament. June 28.

The parliament, which had been prorogued that his Majesty might be present, met soon after his arrival in Edinburgh. † James, according to his usual custom, delivered a long speech, in which he explained his wishes with respect to the proceedings which should take place. He had, however, the mortification to find, that there was no disposition obsequiously to obey his pleasure, for considerable opposition was made to some of those whom he named as lords of the articles, and he was so indignant at this, that he once determined to dissolve the parliament. Having altered this rash determination, and reluctantly made some concession, the

* Row's MS. History, p. 179. Calderwood, p. 674, 675. Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 94.

† Spottiswoode, Rapin, and Guthrie, mention, that the parliament was prorogued till the 13th of June. Calderwood says, that it met on the 17th, the printed acts by Murray, on the 28th, which, if he reckoned by the new style, and Calderwood by the old, agrees with the date assigned by the historian of the Scotish Church.

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estates proceeded to deliberate upon the situation of the kingdom, and particularly of the church. An act was passed regulating the manner in which vacant bishoprics were in future to be supplied, and as, from the changes introduced by the reformation, the chapters were in some dioceses annihilated, provision was made for their restoration, that the election of prelates might in the ancient mode be conducted. A most wise and just law was also framed for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the plantation of churches, by which such salaries were allotted to the ministers as guarded them from the poverty to which they had long submitted. *

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, p. 416—421. Calderwood, p. 675. Spottiswoode, p. 531, confirms the account of Calderwood respecting the opposition to the King's list of Lords of Articles. Guthrie's History, Vol. IX. p. 92, 93. By the act anent plantation of kirks, in which was included the provision for ministers, it was ordained, that the commissioners appointed under it should examine into the state of the teinds in each parish, and where these were sufficient for the purpose, should assign to the minister's stipend not less than five chalders of victual, or five hundred merks, and not more than eight chalders of victual, or eight hundred merks, or victual and money in such proportion as to amount to what is above specified; and this in both cases, exclusive of a manse and glebe. Burnet, in his history of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 8, remarks upon this act, that considering the plenty and way of living in Scotland, it granted a very liberal provision to the clergy. Grain, it appears, was then valued at about seven shillings per boll. Compensation was appointed to be made to such persons as held tacks of teinds, and the nature of this compensation one example will illustrate. A tack of part of the teinds belonging to the New College of St Andrews had been granted for a very small sum, to endure for 203 years. The tack was dated 1612. In 1618, in consequence of the act now mentioned, this tack, in compensation for an augmentation then given, was

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The act respecting the election of bishops was considered by some of the clergy as an infringement upon the jurisdiction which they conceived to belong to the General Assembly; but the opposition which might have been made was turned against a measure which excited much alarm, and which, not without reason, was looked upon as paving the way for the complete subversion of the ecclesiastical laws of the kingdom. The King, eagerly bent upon subjecting the church to the crown, proposed, that it should be enacted, "that whatsoever conclusion was taken by his Majesty, with the advice of the archbishops and bishops, in matters of external polity, should have the power and strength of an ecclesiastical law." The prelates themselves were averse from so obnoxious a measure. They represented to James the expediency of maturely considering it, because it expressly violated the fundamental principle of the Scotish church, that, in making laws, the advice and consent of presbyteries should be required. To this sound counsel, he imprudently replied, that he was not against taking the advice of ministers, or against calling upon a competent number of the wisest and most learned

prolonged for 250 years beyond the original 203, by which a very considerable proportion of the teinds destined for that seminary was wrested from it. This was an evil which probably was not contemplated, and which, much to the disgrace of those who have it in their power, there has been shewn no inclination to remedy;—the just claims of the college for what was its property, and what is essential for its support, having been of late rejected.

amongst them, to assist the bishops, but that he would never agree to having matters ruled as they had been in General Assemblies, for, he added, the bishops must rule the ministers, and the King rule both in matters indifferent, and not repugnant to the word of God. He however consented, that the projected law should be thus expressed: "That whatsoever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the church, with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministry, should have the strength of a law;" and this was approved by the Lords of the Articles. It is evident, that, had it been converted into a statute, the existence of General Assemblies, which the King had long held in abhorrence, would soon have ceased, for he would have had no difficulty in prevailing, at least with the majority of the bishops, to declare against them; and as it was left to the prelates to decide what clergymen should be associated with them, and how many should be a competent number, they would at once have surrendered all which the Assembly at Glasgow had left of the presbyterian polity. In this light the subject naturally presented itself to many of the ministers, who had too much principle quietly to submit to the fetters of the court, and they manfully resolved to take every step which seemed calculated to prevent the law from being passed. The bishops discovered their intention, and endeavoured to divert them from it by assurances, that no ad-

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vantage would be taken of the statute to introduce the English ceremonies without their being warned of it, and by representing to them the danger of provoking his Majesty. This however was, by the ministers, wisely disregarded, and they concluded, that their only security consisted in obstructing the act. One of them in a public discourse, inveighed against the rites of the church of England, and prayed to God that Scotland might be saved from them; and many of the clergy, who had assembled from all parts of the kingdom, drew up their protest against the law, commissioning Hewat, who was abbot of Crosraguel, had a seat in parliament, and had thus easy access to the sovereign, to present it to him. In the preamble, they mentioned the astonishment with which, after having been assured by the bishops that nothing respecting the church would be sanctioned in parliament without the knowledge and advice of the ministers, they had heard of the proposed statute; and they humbly requested, that he would listen to their just grievances, and to the objections which they were to state to the intended innovation. They expatiated upon the purity and excellence of their ecclesiastical polity, as it had long existed under his Majesty,—upon the privileges of the church which had been often recognized, and upon his own promises that these should not be wrested from them,—concluding in words most honourable to their feelings, and to their integrity: "These and many other reasons have moved

The Ministers protest against an intended law.

us, in all reverence, by this our humble supplication, to instruct your highness and honourable estates, not to suffer the forenamed article, nor any other prejudicial to our liberties, formerly granted, to pass at this time, to the grief and prejudice of our poor church, whereby the universal joy of thousands of this land, who rejoiced at your Majesty's happy arriving here, shall be turned into mourning; wherein, as we are earnest supplicants to God, to incline your Majesty's heart this way, as the most expedient for the honour of God, and the weil of the subjects, so if we shall be frustrated of this our reasonable desire, then do we in all humility, with that dutiful acknowledgement of our loyalty to your Majesty which becometh, protest for ourselves, and all our brethren that shall adhere to our protestation, that as we are free of the same, so must we be forced rather to incur the censure of your Majesty's laws, than to admit or obey an imposition, that shall not flow from the church orderly convened, having power of the same." This spirited remonstrance was signed by upwards of fifty ministers, and Hewat, having been furnished with a copy, authenticated by the subscription of Simpson the clerk, in name of the whole, went to the palace to put it into the hands of the King. The Archbishop of St Andrews, induced, as he has declared, by the intreaty of some of the principal persons concerned in it, and who had repented of what they had done, or, as has been with more pro-

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bability stated, enraged at the opposition of the ministers, wrested the protestation from Hewit, and tore it to pieces. During the altercation to which this indecorous violence gave rise, the King came from his chamber undressed, to inquire what had happened; when the archbishop with warmth condemned the conduct of Hewit, whom he represents as overawed by the entrance of the sovereign. The deed itself did not share the fate of the copy, and was presented to the estates. The King, perceiving the agitation which had been excited, was convinced that it would be hazardous to persist in the measure which had occasioned it, and accordingly, when the titles of the different bills were read to him for his approbation, he ordered the bill respecting the church to be expunged, assigning, as the reason, not that he was desirous to comply with the wishes of his people, but that he considered it as limiting his prerogative by ordaining him to take advice. Thus was the act happily prevented, under circumstances, however, which cannot be reconciled with the assertion of the primate, that they who had once resisted it, repented of their resistance. *

* Spottiswoode, p. 531—533. Calderwood's MS. Vol. VI. p. 381—389, and printed History, p. 675—678. Row's MS. Hist. p. 180—184. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 25. Skinner, in his Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 262—264, expresses much disapprobation of the moderate advice given by the bishops to the King, endeavouring to shew that they should have paid no respect to the counsels of presbyters. He would probably have been highly esteemed by James, who certainly would have met with no op

Parliament was no sooner dissolved than it became apparent how deeply the conduct of the protesting ministers had offended the King. Simpson, who had subscribed the protestation, was summoned before the high commission, and, because he did not produce the list of those who had signed the original paper, he was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, although he affirmed that the list required he had not in his possession, having previously given it to another person. The court being informed that this person was Calderwood, the indefatigable historian of the church, and then minister of Crailing, he was commanded to attend the court of commission at St Andrews. He was there accused of having attended a mutinous assembly of certain of the brethren of the ministry, and of keeping the seditious protestation by them composed, for the purpose of inducing others to sign it, in contempt of Almighty God, and of the reverence which he owed to his sovereign lord. Such was the language employed by the primate, in his official capacity of high commissioner; and it was added, that Calderwood had, by his conduct, declared himself a mutinous and seditious person, and unworthy to bear office or function in the church. * Simpson

1617. Severe proceedings against the protesters.

3d July.

position from him in demolishing presbytery, to every part of which, this zealous writer, upon every occasion, shews the most determined enmity.

* Row's MS. p. 185, and Calderwood, p. 639, who has inserted a copy of the summons which he received. It is a most curious document. See also, for fuller information, his MSS. Vol. VI. p. 392.

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and Hewit were also cited. The King, who omitted no opportunity of displaying his eloquence, condescended to sit in court, and, in an oration which he delivered before the pannels were admitted, he informed the commissioners of the mode in which he had proceeded against the English puritans. "As long, he said, as we deprived them only of their benefices, they stood out, because they preached on, and lived on the benevolence of the people, but when we deprived them of their office, many yielded, and are now become the best men we have. Let us take the like course with the puritans here." The advice was not unacceptable to the prelates to whom it was addressed. Hewit was deprived; Simpson, the state of whose health had prevented him from attending, was brought to St Andrews, was deprived, and afterwards confined in Aberdeen; and still greater severity was shewn to Calderwood. With the intrepidity which had distinguished the earliest reformers, yet with a respect to the sovereign, which, founded as it was upon principle, should have raised him in the estimation of James, he defended the protestation, and argued in support of his conduct. The King was irritated by this manly freedom, to which he had been little accustomed in his English court; and, whilst Calderwood was endeavouring to shew that it was competent only for an ecclesiastical judicatory to inflict such punishments as suspension or deposition, his Majesty ordered the archbishop to declare

to him, that if he would not be suspended spiritually he should be suspended corporally. The primate himself was exasperated at what he reprobated as obstinacy and sedition, and he did not hesitate to say, that the intrepid minister at the bar deserved to be used as Ogilvie, who had been hanged for denying the King's power. He was in the end deprived, and condemned to be banished. Esteemed by many of the most respectable men in the kingdom, powerful intercession was made for a mitigation of the sentence, but the interposition was vain, and he at length left Scotland. * 1617.

The King consents to an Assembly.

But although James thus shewed his displeasure at those men who had defeated the scheme of vesting in him the whole ecclesiastical powers of the Assembly, he found that conformity in worship and ceremonies between the two British churches could not be effectuated by an exertion of his prerogative. He accordingly, after the parliament had been dissolved, commanded the bishops, and several of the ministers, to meet him at St Andrews, for 10th July.

* Calderwood, in his MS. Vol. VI. p. 399—404, and in his printed History, p. 678—686, has given a very full and interesting account of his defence, and of the sentences pronounced against him. Row's MS. p. 186, 187. Spottiswoode, p. 534, comprises his account of this transaction in these few words: "Mr David Calderwood, carrying himself irreverently, and breaking forth into speeches not becoming a subject, was committed in the town-house of St Andrews, and afterwards banished the kingdom." Calderwood, p. 802, mentions his having returned privately to Scotland. This he inserts under the year 1624.

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the purpose of arranging his plans with respect to the church. The prelates, and about thirty of the clergy, having met in the chapel of the castle, the King expatiated to them upon his great care of the church,—alluded to the articles which he had transmitted, taking great credit to himself for his moderation in not compelling their insertion amongst the canons,—spoke with much displeasure of the protestation,—graciously informed them that he would pass this over, amongst many other wrongs,—and then told them that he had called them to hear what were their scruples as to the points which he had recommended. He concluded in this high strain: "I mean not to do any thing against reason, and, on the other part, my demands being just and religious, you must not think that I will be refused or resisted. It is a power innated, and a special prerogative, which we that are Christian kings have, to order and dispose of external things in the polity of the church, as we, by the advice of our bishops, shall think most fitting; and for your approving or disapproving deceive not yourselves, I will never regard it unless you bring me a reason I cannot answer." This speech filled the ministers with dismay. They saw, that although the King had passed over the obnoxious act, he wished to proceed, as if he, by virtue of his prerogative, had all the power which it was designed to confer; and, dreading the consequences, they implored him to permit them to hold some conference with one

another before they ventured to reply. Upon their return they entreated him to hold a General Assembly for sanctioning the articles by common consent, and having satisfied him that there was every probability of the sanction being obtained, he ordered an Assembly to be summoned. * 1617.

Soon after this James left Scotland, mortified by the display of that spirit of resistance with which he had often struggled in his earlier days, but which he probably flattered himself had been extinguished; and disappointed that all which he had expected to accomplish by his presence was yet to be obtained. † It was on his progress to London, when he was passing through Lancashire, that, perhaps to console himself for having been thwarted in making ecclesiastical regulations for Scotland, he declared it to be his pleasure, that his good people should not, after divine service, be discouraged from taking any lawful recreations; and in the following year he issued a proclamation, in which he enumerated these recreations. In this strange ordinance he commanded that his subjects should not be prevented, upon the Lord's day, from dancing, archery, leap- James leaves Scotland. 1618. 18th May.

* Spottiswoode, p. 533, 534, has given a full account of this strange exhibition of the King, and as the archbishop was present, and had no motive for misrepresentation, we may rely on his authority. See also Row's MS. p. 184, 185. Rapin's Hist. Vol. II. p. 194, and Camden's Annals of King James.

† Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 178. Spottiswoode, p. 534. Guthrie's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 95, 96.

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ing or vaulting,—from having May-games, Whitson-ales, morrice-dances,—in short he protected, by his royal authority, what would have rendered the religious services of the Lord's day useless, and would have made that day a day of rioting and debauchery. Yet, that he might seem to be actuated by pious motives, he employed this indulgence, so shocking to a truly religious mind, as a means to insure attendance upon divine worship; for the amusements which he countenanced were to be enjoyed only by such as had been present in their own parish churches. *

This act of his Majesty was regarded with much uneasiness by many of the English clergy, who dreaded that it would be extended to the whole kingdom. Numbers resolved that they would disobey, and the Lord Mayor of London even arrested the King's carriages, which, upon a Sunday, were passing through the city. His Majesty was at length induced not to persist in setting his authority in opposition to sound reason, and to the practice of the purest times of the Catholic church; and little more attention was paid to this matter till it was unhappily revived in the time of Charles, and increased the discontent, which every conscientious sacrifice should have been made to remove. † The

* Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 711, 712. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 194, 195. Calderwood's History, p. 686. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 69.

† Collier and Rapin, as last quoted. Note by Tindal to p. 198 of

intelligence of the King's proclamation was soon conveyed to Scotland, and it could not fail to impress the ministers who had resisted the pretensions of James, with the conviction, that, in doing so, they had indeed served the cause for which, in the love of truth, they contended and suffered. 1617.

The bishops were eager to redeem the pledge which they had given to the King, and they took every precaution for rendering the Assembly subservient to their views; but the tendency to resist had not yet expired, and they found that the five articles could not be pressed upon the members. Some alterations concerning the administration of the communion to sick persons, and concerning the mode in which the elements were to be distributed, were introduced; but with these the bishops were not satisfied, and the King was more highly displeased than if nothing had been conceded. That the ministers, however, might not act irreverently to their sovereign, they did not reject the articles about the adoption of which he was solicitous, but only delayed the consideration of them till another Assembly, assigning, as the reasons for this, that, from the inclemency of the season, and the short intimation which had been given, many of the commissioners had been unable to attend, while several of those who were present had not so considered

1617. Assembly at St Andrews. 25th Nov.

Rapin's second volume. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. P. 114, 115.

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the subjects proposed as to form a decided opinion.*

1617. King's indignation at the proceedings of the Assembly. 6th Dec.

When the proceedings of the Assembly were transmitted to the King, he was filled with indignation. In a letter which he wrote, in answer to the one that was sent to him, he declared that he considered the conduct of the Assembly as not less insulting than the protestation; he commanded the archbishops to observe the festival of Christmas, which had not been done since the reformation; and he meanly ordered, that no stipend for a year should be given to any minister who had not voted for the passing of the articles. To this he subjoined, in his own hand-writing, that, since the Scotish church had so far contemned his clemency, they should find what it was to draw the anger of a King upon them. It might be supposed that language so unguarded was used in the heat of passion, and would, when he became calm, be retracted; but, so far was this from being the case, that, some days after,

Dec. 17. he wrote to the Archbishop of St Andrew's, prohibiting him from paying any regard to the concessions which, on the part of the Court, had been made; and he accompanied this expression of his resentment with an instruction to the council, not to pay their stipends to any of the rebellious mini-

* Spottiswoode, p. 535. Calderwood, p. 688—691, and MSS. Vol. VI. p. 407. Row's MS. History, p. 187—189. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 69—72.

sters, refusers of the articles, till they conformed, and their conformity was certified by the primate or the bishop of the diocese. The use which probably was intended was made of these intimations. Rumours were industriously circulated, that the King was highly offended at the bishops, especially at the Archbishop of St Andrew's, because the articles had not been carried; that he was determined to prevent, in future, all conventions of ministers; and that he had sent down a warrant to dicharge not only presbyteries, but even the sessions of particular churches.* Whilst the public mind was agitated by the dread of these violent measures, and the ministers were anticipating all the difficulties in which, by the refusal to pay their stipends, they would be involved, the primate assembled such bishops and ministers as were in Edinburgh, and read to them a dispatch from the King, pressing, under pain of deprivation, their concurrence in the innovations which he had recommended.† Some effect was produced upon the minds of timid men by the terrors with which they were assailed, and the determination of James to effectuate his purpose was shewn by new violations of the constitution of the kingdom. The archbishops had preached upon

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1618. 26th Jan.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 72, 73.

† Compare Spottiswoode, p. 535, 536, with Calderwood's MSS. Vol. VI. p. 411, and printed History, p. 691, 692.

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Christmas, and, in the beginning of the year, the observance of a number of other festivals, prescribed by statutes which had not been repealed, was commanded. * Spottiswoode was, in the mean time, assiduous in his attempts to influence his brethren. He affected to be much grieved at the harsh steps which the King had enjoined to be taken, and professed that he had employed his influence to suspend the severe resolutions against the ministers. He then endeavoured to convince them, that they could hope for indulgence only by submission; and when the full influence of such a representation had been exerted, and it was believed that a majority favourable to the articles would be obtained, an Assembly was indicted to be held at Perth. †

1618. Jan.

Assembly at Perth. 25th Aug.

The Assembly met on the twenty-fifth of August. It was attended by commissioners from the King, by a number of the nobility and gentry, by all the bishops, excepting the Bishop of Argyll, and by the ministers who were elected to represent the presbyteries. The Archbishop of St Andrews delivered a long sermon in defence of ceremonies, thus enforcing the five articles which were to be submitted to the Assembly. He alluded to his Majesty's determination to have them inserted in the

* Calderwood, p. 692, and MSS. Vol. VI. p. 412. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 62—73.

† Calderwood, p. 697, compared with Spottiswoode, p. 537, who says, that in the synods where he exerted himself, all things were carried with reasonable quietness.

book of canons, which he said he had resisted till the consent of the church should be obtained, affirming that he knew nothing of the articles till they were suggested by the King. After the sermon was concluded, the first session was held, when the primate, in right of his office, took the moderator's chair. When the propriety of an election to this important situation was urged, he replied, that the Assembly was convened within the bounds of his diocese, and that, while he served in it, he would allow no one to assume his place. The King's letter was then delivered by the Dean of Winchester, who had been sent to attend the Assembly. This letter was composed in the haughty dictatorial style which James delighted to employ; it was indeed rather the mandate of a master to his servants, than the communication of a sovereign to his people. He began by stating, that he had once determined not to call any more Assemblies, disgusted as he was by what had taken place at St Andrews; but that, although he had been induced by the bishops to depart from that intention, he hoped that they would shew some more regard to his desires, and not permit the ignorant and unruly multitude, after their wonted custom, to oversway the better and more judicious sort. He reminded the members, that, by his calling from God, he had an innate power to dispose of things external in the church, as he thought best for his subjects; he told them not to think that he would be satisfied with refu-

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sals, delays, or mitigations, for that he would be content with nothing but a simple and direct acceptation of the articles in the form in which he had long ago sent them; he observed, that it would have much more become them to beg the establishment of such things from him, than that he should need to urge the practice of them upon his subjects; he took much credit to himself, that the conduct of the ministers had not disgusted him with the profession itself, by which he probably meant religion, and after conveying to them his wish, that he might not be any more provoked, and introducing to them the Dean of Winchester, he commended them to the gracious protection of God.

The design of the letter, even in the form in which it was printed, for some of the strongest passages, it was alleged, had been expunged before it was committed to the press, was to intimidate the Assembly, and to convince those of whom it was composed, that if they hesitated about receiving the articles, they must expect to suffer all the punishment, or all the hardships with which the royal power could visit them; and lest this should not have struck them with sufficient force upon hearing the letter, which was on purpose frequently perused, the Archbishop of St Andrews pointed out in express terms, what they had to apprehend. After protesting that he had not urged the innovations, and that it was even against his will that they had been proposed, he said, that his Majesty was so

eager for their adoption, that he would rather have the consent of the Assembly to them, than all the gold in India. He then proceeded in the following unworthy manner to address his brethren. "In case of your refusal, the whole order and estate of your church will be overthrown, some ministers will be banished, others will be deprived of their stipends and office, and all will be brought under the wrath of authority." That he might not be suspected of having exaggerated what was to be dreaded from the resentment of the King, he appealed to the Dean of Winchester. This divine, in an oration full of the most revolting flattery to the wisdom of the Monarch, dwelt upon the violence of his indignation at what had before happened, and exhorted those who heard him to rectify by their decisions the errors into which they had fallen.

But notwithstanding all this preparation, the primate did not venture to submit to public discussion the articles so powerfully enforced. He knew that, notwithstanding all his precautions, there were in the Assembly numbers, who, in the cause of truth, would hold light the most severe sufferings, and that the sentiments which they would not hesitate to deliver, would be congenial to the wishes and feelings of the people of Scotland. To prevent debate therefore, it was settled, that the articles should be discussed in a privy conference by certain members, the great majority of whom were favourable

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to them, and when, after a struggle by the few friends of the former discipline, who were admitted to the conference, they were sanctioned, they were proposed to the Assembly. Some attempt was made to obtain liberty of discussion, but although this was avowedly granted, such obstacles were interposed, that the object was defeated. The Archbishop urgently pressed for a decision, assuring the members, that they should not leave the place till it was obtained, and again threatening them with his Majesty's displeasure if they did not yield. The question was at length thus put; Whether will you consent to the articles or disobey the King? and this explanation was added, that he who opposed one article, opposed the whole. Before the vote was given, Spottiswoode intimated, that the name of every one who was against the articles, should be presented to his Majesty, and he took the roll that he might himself mark the votes of the commissioners. The articles were carried by a considerable majority, but notwithstanding all the menaces which had been thrown out, forty-five ministers voted against them. *

* Proceedings of the Assembly at Perth, published in 1619, and extensively circulated. In an excellent preface, the writer says: "The means of printing and publishing are to us very difficill; we wish therefore every good Christian to take in good part our meane travels." In this pamphlet, there is a most clear and minute account of the whole proceedings, and the circumstance of its having been published so soon after the Assembly, places its authenticity beyond a doubt. There are added several argumentative discussions against

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1618. Articles of Perth.

The articles, which occasioned such agitation in Scotland, I shall transcribe from Spottiswoode, who has published them in the form in which they were adopted. "1st, Seeing that we are commanded by God himself, that when we come to worship him, we fall down and kneel before God our maker, and considering, withal, that there is no part of divine worship more heavenly and spiritual than is the holy receiving of the blessed body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, likeas the most reverend and humble gesture of our body in our meditation, and the lifting up of our hearts best becometh so divine and sacred an action; therefore, notwithstanding that our church hath used, since the reformation of religion, to celebrate the holy communion to the people sitting, by reason of the great abuse of kneeling used in the idolatrous worship of the sacrament by the Papists, yet, seeing all memory of bypast superstition is past, in reverence of God,

the articles, which have been controverted, but I am not aware that the facts have been denied. Calderwood, who was the author, (see Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 83.) makes much use of it in his history, but has given at greater length some of the speeches, p. 607—613. See also his MSS. Vol. VI. p. 422—424. Row's MS. p. 190, 191. Spottiswoode, p. 587—589, has inserted the King's letter, and the articles, which I shall copy from his history; but he has given no particulars concerning the mode in which the business was conducted, which I am satisfied he would have done, could he have clearly and satisfactorily shewn, that the sentiments of the Assembly were fairly expressed, and that no improper methods had been used to influence their decisions. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 75—80.

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and in due regard of so divine a mystery, and in remembrance of so mystical an union as we are made partakers of, the Assembly thinketh good, that the blessed sacrament be celebrated hereafter, meekly and reverently, upon their knees. 2d, If any good Christian, visited with long sickness, and known to the pastor, by reason of his present infirmity, be unable to resort to the church for receiving the holy communion, or being sick, shall declare to the pastor, upon his conscience, that he thinks his sickness to be deadly, and shall earnestly desire to receive the same in his house, the minister shall not deny him so great a comfort, lawful warning being given to him the night before, and that there be three or four of good religion and conversation, free of all lawful impediments, present with the sick person to communicate with him, who must also provide a convenient place in his house, and all things necessary for the reverent administration thereof, according to the order prescribed in the church. 3d, The minister shall often admonish the people, that they defer not the baptism of infants any longer than the next Lord's day after the child is born, unless upon a great and reasonable cause declared to the minister, and by him approved, the same be postponed: As also, they shall warn them, that, without great cause, they procure not their children to be baptized at home in their houses, but when great need shall compel them to baptize in private houses, (in which case, the mi-

nister shall not refuse to do it, upon the knowledge of the great need, and being timely required thereto) then baptism shall be administered after the same form as it should have been in the congregation; and the minister shall, the next Lord's day after any such private baptism, declare in the church, that the infant was so baptized, and therefore ought to be received as one of the true flock of Christ's fold. 4th, For as much as one of the special means for staying the increase of Popery, and settling of true religion in the hearts of the people, is that a special care be taken of young children, their education, and how they are catechised, which, in time of the primitive church, was most carefully attended to, as being most profitable to cause young children in their tender years drink in the knowledge of God and his religion, but is now altogether neglected, in respect of the great abuse and errors which crept into the Popish church, by making thereof a sacrament of confirmation; therefore, that all superstitions built thereupon may be rescinded, and that the matter itself, being most necessary for the education of youth, may be reduced to the primitive integrity, it is thought good, that the minister in every parish should catechise all young children of eight years of age, and see that they have the knowledge, and be able to make rehearsal of the Lord's Prayer, belief, and ten commandments, with answers to the questions of the small catechism used in our church; and that every

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bishop in his visitation shall censure the minister who shall be found remiss therein; and the said bishops shall cause the said children be presented before them, and bless them with prayer for the increase of their knowledge, and the continuance of God's heavenly graces with every one of them. 5th, As we abhor the superstitious observance of festival days by the Papists, and detest all licentious and profane abuses thereof by the common sort of professors, so we think, that the inestimable benefits received from God by our Lord Jesus Christ, his birth, passion, resurrection, ascension, and sending down of the Holy Ghost, were commendably and godly remembered at certain particular days and times, by the whole church of the world, and may also be now; therefore, the Assembly admitteth, that every minister shall, upon these days, have the commemoration of the foresaid inestimable benefits, and make choice of several and pertinent texts of scripture, and frame their doctrine and exhortation thereto, and rebuke all superstitious observation and licentious profanation thereof." *

* Spottiswoode, p. 538, 539. That the Archbishop has accurately transcribed the articles, is placed beyond a doubt, by the first one having been inserted in the same words by the writer of the pamphlet before alluded to, p. 33, 34. I have chosen to give them at full length, because they throw light upon the sentiments which the framers of them had to oppose Summaries of them, with an account of the proceedings at Perth, may be seen in Collier, Vol. II. p. 712. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 173, 174. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 75—80, and in Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 29.

Upon the dissolution of the Assembly, orders were given, that the articles should be read and enforced in all churches throughout the kingdom; they were in a few weeks ratified by the lords of council; and, by proclamation at the cross of Edinburgh, it was announced, that all who neglected or despised them, would be esteemed factious, stirrers up of sedition, and disturbers of the peace of the church. That nothing might be wanting to give them force, and to compel the people to venerate what was enjoined by them, they were some years after confirmed in parliament, though not without a vigour of opposition, which all the dexterity of the Marquis of Hamilton, who acted as commissioner for the King, could with difficulty overcome. * 1618. 1621.

Remarks.

Without making any observations upon the articles themselves, it is impossible not to be struck with the arbitrary manner in which they were imposed. The King enforced them with the violence of a bigot, and the haughtiness of a tyrant;—he overawed the judgments and the consciences of his people, and seemed determined even to stake his crown upon the attainment of his object. Yet it

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. VI. p. 444, and p. 546—549, with printed History, p. 775—783. Spottiswoode, p. 539. Row's MS. History, p. 199—202. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. This writer says, the Marquis of Hamilton managed the confirming of the articles so dexterously, that it gained him an equal share of esteem and hatred; these things being very odious. Letters of the Earl of Melross to James in Memorials, &c. published by Lord Hailes, p. 99—104.

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is impossible for the most credulous to believe that this was the effect of sincere, though mistaken zeal for religion. The articles were contrary to those maxims, with respect to the service of God, which, in early life, he had adopted; and the general complexion of his character is inconsistent with the supposition that he was guided by motives of piety in promoting the revolution in the church which he was so eager to effectuate. His earnestness must be ascribed to his high notions of the extent of his prerogative, and to his determination to break down all the fences by which his people had been secured against the introduction of despotism. The disposition of the inhabitants of Scotland, strengthened, as it had been, by the enlightened views of government which the first reformers assiduously presented, did not incline them to the abject submission which would have gratified their monarch;—they had the sagacity to discern, that, if they yielded without a struggle to the present demands, new requisitions, still more intolerable, would succeed; and they thus were satisfied, that their political independence would suffer no less than their religious faith, if the public voice were silenced, and all fell prostrate at the foot of the throne. The articles were so framed as to insult the understandings of those to whom they were prescribed. They express the utmost anxiety to guard against superstition, whilst all who heard them knew that the great majority of the nation considered them as introdu-

cing the superstition from which they had, by the Reformation, been happily delivered. Nothing, indeed, can be conceived more adapted to create determined opposition to the King, than his insisting upon the innovations. His attack upon the Presbyterian form of ecclesiastical discipline had filled many of the ministers with indignation, or with horror; but still this did not come immediately home to the feelings and the practice of the community. The constitution of the church was indeed changed, but its internal structure seemed unaltered;—the ordinances of religion were administered as they had long been, and nothing was required in the mode of worship which could alarm or shock the most scrupulous who attended it. But the Perth articles placed matters on a very different footing, because by them all were required to relinquish the forms which every association, in their eyes, rendered venerable,—to approach the Deity in a way which they dreaded would displease him,—and to keep certain days, which the reformers had taught them to disregard, with a strictness, which they who required it did not observe, on that day, which, from the resurrection of Christ, had been set apart for raising the soul in gratitude to the Almighty. CHAP. XII. 1618.

The infatuation of James was, if possible, still more apparent in the instruments which he employed to gain his purpose. He had long been convinced that episcopacy was more favourable to

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monarchy than the stern independence of presbytery, and he had succeeded in introducing bishops into the church, notwithstanding all the efforts made to oppose them. Having gained this point, he should have done that, without which the mere introduction of the order was nothing;—he should have endeavoured to overcome the prejudices with which the prelates were regarded, and assisted them in conciliating the affections, or in acquiring the confidence of the people. But, with that rashness and want of political prudence which marked his whole reign, he required these men to stand in the breach which he was making on the consciences of his subjects,—to be the active supporters of what was hateful to the nation,—and to shrink from no severity which he enjoined them to use. He thus effectually prevented episcopacy from resting on the esteem and veneration of the inhabitants of Scotland, compelling them to view the bishops as the tools of oppression, and as substituting for the mild spirit of Christianity the unfeeling rigour of persecution.

Opposition made by the zealous ministers.

The zealous ministers saw the advantage which they had gained, and they determined not to lose it by neglecting to inflame the zeal, or to enlighten the minds of those whom they instructed. Instead of obeying the injunction to enforce the articles, they used all their eloquence to shew that they were at variance with the principles which, after the Reformation, had been embraced; that they were in-

consistent with Scripture; that they tended to nourish superstition,—to interrupt the peace of the church,—to alienate the respect and esteem of foreign Protestants; and that many of them were allied to Popery, which had been so often and so sincerely abjured. Instead of regarding the Perth Assembly as the constitutional organ of ecclesiastical power, these ministers insisted that it was not lawfully constituted,—that it had been illegally conducted,—and that the sentiments of the majority had not been fairly expressed. Nor did they confine these opinions to their pulpits. They circulated them by the press, thus enabling every man deliberately to reflect upon the magnitude of the evil which they deplored. * 1618.

The representations and admonitions of the zealous ministers produced a strong effect upon the minds of many of their brethren, and of a large part of the community. The inhabitants of Edinburgh actively opposed the introduction of some of the innovations. Upon Christmas-day few of them attended divine worship; they expressed their wish that the sacrament should be dispensed according to the former practice; and when they found that most of their pastors were to obey the articles, they communicated with the congregations of those ministers who followed an opposite conduct. Even

* Pamphlets respecting the Perth Assembly, published in 1619. Calderwood's History, p. 708—715. Spottiswoode, p. 539.

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1618. the promoters of the changes in religious worship admit, that these changes were held in general abhorrence; and Spottiswoode has recorded, that the magistrates of Edinburgh were believed to connive at the people who strayed from their churches. *

1619. Activity of the Court of Commission. The primate, invested as he was with ample powers, and stimulated by many of his colleagues, resolved, through the court of commission, to make the refractory ministers feel that they could not, with impunity, persist in their opposition. Several of them were deprived; others were committed to prison, that confinement might aggravate the evils of poverty; and every method was adopted which seemed calculated to overawe the people. † It is unnecessary to detail the particular cases of suffering; it is enough to observe, that they rather fortified the sentiments which they were intended to extirpate. ‡

The scheme of completely assimilating the two British churches was not farther prosecuted during the reign of James. His increasing indolence, the calamities which marked the conclusion of his life, and particularly his differences with the English parliament, which was at length driven to resistance, in a great degree withdrew his attention from Scot-

* Spottiswoode, p. 540. Collier, Vol. II. p. 712. Guthrie's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 97, 98.

† Calderwood's History, under 1619. Neal, Vol. II. p. 111. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 82.

‡ Row's MS. Hist. p. 192—196.

land, and destroyed all inclination to take measures which might involve him in new troubles. *

CHAP. XII.

1619.

Had the Scotish bishops, even after all which had yet happened, devoted themselves to the duties of their station; had they resided in their dioceses, and regularly officiated; had they spared conscientious men, who had no desire to disturb the public tranquillity, and inculcated the doctrines revered throughout the kingdom, they might in some degree have counteracted the effect of the royal violence. But, with an infatuation, which, from their talents and their experience, is most astonishing, they acted as if the tie uniting them to those whom they should have guided and instructed, had been dissolved, and even followed the conduct which they who wished for their ruin would have urged them to pursue. They assumed a haughtiness of manner, presenting a striking contrast to the ingratiating zeal of the exiled ministers; they were often at court; they neglected their functions; and, under the idea that the people were too violent in their antipathy to Popery, they exerted themselves, and instructed their adherents, to place the doctrines of that religion in a more favourable point of view. In accomplishing this, they did not scruple to cast some reflexions upon the reformers, whose memories were deservedly held in the highest vene-

The bishops do not gain the esteem of the people.

* Row's MS. History, p. 203, compared with Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 9.

CHAP. XII. 1619.

ration. Upon certain topics of theological controversy, which at this period deeply interested the public mind, they avowed opinions which increased the antipathy that was entertained against them.

The celebrated Arminius, professor of theology at Leyden, had advanced notions respecting grace and predestination, which had been keenly opposed by all the reformed churches,—which the synod of Dort had been assembled to condemn,—which James had reprobated,—and which, in Scotland, were considered as subversive of the whole scheme of salvation. The King, however, was led to alter his sentiments upon these intricate subjects, and not only became a zealous defender of the tenets of Arminius, but looked upon the profession of them as the best evidence of attachment to the hierarchy, and of submission to his own authority. The Scotish prelates entered into his views with respect to the controverted doctrines, and, to the great offence of the zealous clergy, who held, in all their rigour, the opinions of Calvin, openly undertook to confute these opinions. And, to complete the enumeration of the causes which even thus early associated episcopacy with popery, the bishops condemned the strictness with which the presbyterians observed the Lord's day, and, not resting satisfied with an attempt to prove that this strictness was not warranted by Scripture, they shewed a contempt for the Sabbath itself, which it is difficult to reconcile with strong

impressions of the wisdom and mercy displayed in its institution. *

1621. Treaty with Spain concerning the marriage of the prince.

The fears excited in Scotland by the events which took place in that kingdom, were strengthened by the King's conduct respecting the marriage of his son, and by the communications with the court of Rome, to which that conduct gave occasion. Had James been guided by the wisdom which his flatterers so often ascribed to him, he would have united the prince with a Protestant consort, and thus given to his subjects the surest pledge that they had no cause to apprehend any attempt to undermine their religion. He acted, however, upon a very different principle. Even during the life of his amiable son, Henry, whose premature death was universally and deeply lamented, some negotiations had been set on foot for marrying that prince to a daughter of the King of Spain; and, after his death, the same scheme was prosecuted, the Spanish minister artfully stating many reasons which influenced James to solicit for Charles the hand of one of the royal family of Spain. † A treaty accordingly was immediately

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 29, and History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 9. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 69. Rushworth's Historical Collections from 1618 to 1629, published at London, 1682, p. 62 and 65. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 730. Row, in his MS. History, speaking of the synod of Dort, says, "It refuted the heresy and corrupt doctrines of the Arminians, quhilk was a comfort to all that loved the truth of God."

† Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 1, 2.

CHAP. XII. 1621.

commenced, but it was protracted for several years by the formality or insincerity of the Spanish court; during which time the question respecting the indulgence to be shewn to Catholics was often discussed, and endeavours were made to ascertain upon what conditions the Pope would grant the dispensation, without which the marriage between parties of different religious persuasions could not take place. James was the dupe of the artifices of the Spanish and Papal courts; he believed that they were really desirous that the match should take place; and, captivated by the prospect of acquiring the immense treasure which had been promised as the dowry of the princess, and by the expectation that the wretched fortunes of his son-in-law, the Elector of Palatine, would thus be improved, he shewed the utmost lenity to the adherents of the Popish faith, who threw off their reserve, and displayed that ardent zeal for conversion by which at this period they were constantly actuated. * This spread alarm amongst all who valued the Protestant religion; and James, having summoned his parliament, that assembly, before granting supplies, prepared a petition and remonstrance, in which the members deplored the great and growing mischiefs with which they were surrounded, ascribing these to the machinations of the Pope, and to the daring boldness of the Popish recusants, founded upon the

* Row's MSS. History, p. 206.

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expectation of the match with Spain, and the favourable consequences which would result from it.* The King, however, was not thus to be checked in what he considered as the free exercise of his prerogative; and, in the following year, he released from prison a number of priests and recusants who had violated the laws, enjoining the Lord-Keeper to write to the judges, "not to make any niceness or difficulty in extending the royal favour to all such as they should find prisoners in the jails of their circuits, for any church recusancy, or refusing the oath of supremacy, or dispersing Popish books, or for any other point of recusancy that concerned religion only, and not matters of state." † 1621. 1622.

Consequences which resulted from the treaty for a Spanish match.

Intelligence of the favour thus shewn to Popish recusants, and of the endeavours to silence the ministers who most zealously defended the doctrinal tenets of the church of England, was soon conveyed to Scotland, and, from the situation of that kingdom, produced a powerful effect upon the minds of the people. ‡ Whilst the most marked forbearance was shewn to Papists, they saw their revered and conscientious ministers harassed and oppressed, and deplored the ingenuity which was displayed in aggravating their supposed offences that their punishment might be increased. Such a contrast struck

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 40, 41. Camden's Annals of James the First, p. 58.

† Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 63.

‡ Spottiswoode, p. 543.

CHAP. XII. 1622.

the ministers so forcibly that they could not refrain from alluding to it, and one of them, who had long experienced the vengeance of the High Court of Commission, thus commenced a letter to the Primate: "It might be supposed, that, seeing I have been so many years under censure of banishment and imprisonment, I might now at last, in my old days, look for some pity and ease, and so much the rather, in respect that favour is now extended to the enemies of the truth and the state, commandment being given to set them at large out of their wards and prisons; we, that are Christ's servants and ministers, might be worthily blamed, if we expected less than these have already obtained." * The appeal proved fruitless. The archbishop re-

23d Oct. turned a short and contemptuous answer; but he was probably sensible of the force of what was stated, and that it was necessary to efface the impression that Popery was more countenanced than the religion in which his Majesty had been educated;

14th Nov. for, a very short time after this, the King, in a letter which he sent to Scotland, declared, that although, for certain reasons of state, he had given freedom to some imprisoned Papists in England, yet it never was his mind to give liberty of con-

* Calderwood's MSS. Vol. VI. towards the end, and printed History, p. 798. Row's MS. History, p. 203. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 89—91. Wodrow has inserted, in the life of the primate, many of his letters which throw light upon the events of this period.

science to Papists, far less occasion to puritans thereby to repine against his laws. He accordingly gave charge to execute the laws, both against the followers of Rome and the puritans. * CHAP. XII. 1622.

In England, where his indulgence to Catholics was also most unpopular, he rested his defence of that indulgence upon a very different foundation, representing it as originating from his desire to procure similar indulgence to Protestants in foreign countries; and it has hence been insinuated, that he was really guided by the wish to introduce that enlightened toleration which is now happily enjoyed in Scotland by all religious denominations. The slightest attention, however, to the declaration which he made to his Scotish subjects, to the construction of his mind, and to the general maxims of his reign, shew that this insinuation is unfounded. † 1623.

Whilst the King was thus vindicating the measures which he had lately adopted, the whole of his subjects were filled with amazement by the intelligence, that the Prince, accompanied only by the profligate Duke of Buckingham, had left Britain, with the romantic and hazardous design of marrying, at the court of Spain, the Princess whom his fa- The Prince visits Spain, and returns in safety.

* Calderwood, p. 798, 799. Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 112.

† Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 63, 64. The apology for James, to which I have alluded, is suggested by Hume, Vol. IV. p. 81, of the Montrose edition of his History, and shews the tenderness with which he regarded the Stuart family.

CHAP. XII. 1623.

ther had destined for him. The personal danger to which he might be exposed, the hazard that his principles would be corrupted, and that, even if these remained unshaken, he might be induced to make concessions repugnant to the feelings and principles of the inhabitants of Britain, painfully agitated the minds of the people; and the venerable Archbishop Abbot, who, in consequence of having, while he was hunting, accidentally slain one of the company, had withdrawn from public life, thought himself called upon forcibly to remonstrate with the King against the infatuation of his counsels *.

In Scotland, even the most zealous courtiers were staggered by the rashness of Charles, and the ministers who were dissatisfied with the innovations, expressed their fears, that the journey would lead to the most unhappy alterations, both in the church and the commonwealth. †

Part of the apprehensions which had been so naturally and so widely cherished, were fortunately

* Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 222. Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 85. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p 727, 728. Collier, after remarking that the letter was not only penned in a warm expostulatory style, but went to some extremities in coarse language, throws out some insinuations against its authenticity. He rests these upon the authority of Heylin, which, when his prejudices are concerned, is of little weight. There is the strongest evidence that the letter is authentic. Fuller, B. x. p. 106, quoted by Neal, Vol. II. p. 132.

† Spottiswoode, p. 544, compared with Calderwood, p. 801. Row's MS. p. 205. Letter of Earl of Melross to James, in Memorials, &c. published by Lord Hailes, p. 113, 114.

soon dissipated; for the Prince, with the utmost fortitude, resisted the artful attempts which were made to seduce him from the Protestant religion, and, having suddenly left Spain, he, to the great joy of his countrymen, reached Britain in safety. All idea of the marriage was after this relinquished, but the concessions which the King, at the request of the Pope and the Spanish monarch, had made in favour of Popery, increased the discontent which, during the last years of the reign of James, was so loudly expressed. *

CHAP. XII. 1624.

In Scotland, every method was employed to alienate the affections of the great body of the people from a government which sought to secure itself by persecution. They who, from conscientious motives, were reluctant to take the sacrament kneeling, and who differed from such ministers as pressed with violence conformity to the articles of Perth, were constantly exposed to be dragged before the lords of the council;—some men, respectable from their station and their influence, were sentenced to pay fines which involved them in ruin;—all private meetings held that the former modes of worship might be practised, were denounced;—and the bishops were daily augmenting the number marked out for punishment upon account of religion, when the intelligence of the King's death for a

* Row's MS. History, p. 206. Rushworth's Collections, p. 104—114. Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 225—227.

CHAP. XII.

short time interrupted the severity of their inquisition. *

1625. March 27. Death of the King.

James had for some weeks been afflicted with an intermitting fever, which at length baffled all the efforts of his physicians, and having given to his successor some salutary advices, which he had himself too much disregarded, he expired in the fifty-ninth year of his age. †

His character.

The character of this monarch has, like that of most sovereigns, been exhibited in very different lights. By those who were attached to his person, or who venerated his zeal for the hierarchy, he has been represented as possessed of the deepest erudition, and of the most gentle dispositions; his bounty has been extolled, and his love of peace been recorded with the admiration which would have been justly due to it, had it originated from enlarged views of humanity. If splendour of talent, and profoundness of understanding alone could command implicit belief, all doubt respecting the wisdom and the virtues of James would be for ever removed; for he has been celebrated in the warmest strain of panegyric by the illustrious Lord Bacon, a man to whose enlightened and elevated mind the

* Calderwood, p. 801—815, has given a particular account of the proceedings against various persons. See also Calderwood's MSS. Vol. VI. p. 610, 611. Row's MS. p. 208. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 97, 98.

† Calderwood, p. 815. Spottiswoode, p. 546. Row's MS. History, p. 209, 210. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. VI. p. 620.

human race are indebted for invaluable advantages, but who tarnished his political and judicial conduct by prejudices and errors, upon which, in his case, it is peculiarly painful to reflect. The character of the King may be estimated much more justly from a dispassionate survey of his reign, and of the maxims by which, as a sovereign, he was directed. It is impossible to read the history of the events detailed in this work, without being led to the conclusion, that he was, in his religious sentiments, versatile or insincere;—and without perceiving, with an indignation which it is praise-worthy to feel, that he violated the most solemn assurances which he gave to his subjects,—trampled on the rights which, by every tie, he was bound to hold sacred,—and endeavoured to attach to the crown an extent of prerogative which would have left those over whom he ruled at the mercy of the monarch, and would have introduced into Britain all the horrors of despotism. In his private life there is little to praise, but much which every friend of virtue must unequivocally condemn. He submitted to the guidance of men whose worthlessness should have excited his detestation; he sunk into indolence, unfitting him for the exertions which he was imperiously called to make; he changed the temperate habits of his youth, and surrendered himself to gluttony and to licentiousness. The conversation to which his flatterers listened with affected wonder, and which induced them to com-

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1625.

pare him with Solomon the wisest of princes, was rendered offensive by impurity and by profaneness; and although he was not so hardened as never to feel the compunctions of remorse, he was not impelled by these to attempt his amendment. The glory of England, which Elizabeth had raised so high, sunk during his administration,—his people were insulted by the inhabitants of foreign countries,—whilst he himself was regarded with pity, or with contempt. Yet it must not be dissembled that he has been extolled by writers, who must have been convinced that he merited the praise which they bestowed;—a fact strikingly illustrating how much political prejudice can bewilder the understanding, and pervert that moral judgment which might be expected to be beyond its influence. *

* Rushworth, in his Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 155—160, has given the character of James, as drawn by various writers, and, amongst the rest, by Lord Bacon. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. II. p. 235, 236. Court and Character of King James, by Sir Anthony Weldon, published at London 1650, and lately reprinted in a work, entitled, Secret History of the Court of King James the First. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 730, 731. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 19, compared with his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 99. Hume's History, Vol. IV. Montrose edition, p 96. This writer remarks, "That, in maintaining his own authority, James might perhaps be suspected in a few of his actions, and still more of his pretensions, to have somewhat encroached upon the liberties of his people;"—an observation sufficiently shewing how tenderly Hume was disposed to estimate the errors of kings. Spottiswoode, p. 546, at the very time that the High Commission and the tyranny of the lords of the council were deplored in Scotland, or while the recollection of them was fresh upon his mind, could thus

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1625. Change in the state of opinion in Scotland during his reign.

During the long period which elapsed from the time that James, in infancy, ascended the throne of Scotland, till his death, a remarkable change took place in the sentiments of many who had embraced the reformed faith, with respect to questions connected with ecclesiastical polity. When the reformation was first introduced, all who hailed it as restoring religious liberty, and opening the way to the knowledge of divine truth, united their efforts in preserving its blessings, and in promoting its influence; and exposed, as they were, to persecution, they considered themselves as engaged in the same glorious cause, whatever form the church, of which they were members, had assumed. Hence the reformed churches regularly corresponded with each other, receiving, as duly authorized, the ministers ordained by them, and viewing, as brethren, all

write of the departed monarch: "He was the Solomon of this age, admired for his wise government, and for his knowledge of all manner of learning. For his wisdom, moderation, love of justice,—for his patience and piety, which shined above all his other virtues, and is witnessed in the learned works which he left to posterity, his name shall never be forgotten, but remain in honour so long as the world endureth. We that have had the honour and happiness, many times, to hear him discourse of the most weighty matters, as well of policy as of divinity, now that he is gone, must comfort ourselves with the remembrance of these excellencies, and reckon it not the least part of our happiness to have lived in his days." In this sentiment many of the persecuted ministers would have found it difficult to acquiesce, and they would also, however they might have allowed him to be peaceful, have hesitated in ascribing to him the epithet of just, with which the history of the primate concludes.

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who adhered to the cardinal principle, that scripture is to Christians the sole rule of faith and conduct. Accordingly, although from particular circumstances, which, in tracing the history of the reformation, have been detailed, superintendents were introduced instead of bishops into Scotland, the church of England, in which the hierarchy had been preserved, was regarded as a true church, holding in purity the doctrines of the gospel. Acting upon these maxims, episcopacy, with some modifications, soon supplanted the original polity; and although public opinion was averse to the change, it might have continued, had not the narrow views of the Earl of Morton disposed the ministers to any revolution through which they hoped to increase their influence, and to obtain that portion of the revenues of the church which, although often promised, was unjustly and unwisely withheld. Yet they did not at once embrace the notions which Melvil, upon his return from Geneva, disseminated; and even after his scheme was sanctioned, a judicious ruler might have succeeded in quietly removing it, and in giving to ecclesiastical discipline the aspect which he wished it to assume. After the accession of James to the English throne, the attachment to presbytery not only increased, but that form of polity came to be identified with religion itself; it was considered as enjoined by the word of God, and as the essential requisite of a Christian church.

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But this was not the full extent of the evil which the vexatious administration of James, and the inquisitorial proceedings of the High Court of Commission produced. It has often been observed, that all denominations of Christians have, in their turn, unsheathed the sword of persecution; and that they who mourned under it, no sooner wrested it from their enemies, than they employed it in inflicting upon others the calamities which they had themselves deplored. This is one of the many pernicious consequences which naturally result from persecution. He who, in adhering to any peculiar tenet of religion, has encountered misfortune or suffering, is thus led to view that tenet as much more important than he might otherwise have considered it; and even while the arm of power is stretched forth against him, he cherishes the persuasion, that he is bound to inculcate his doctrine, and to oppose whatever thwarts its influence, or impedes its reception. Hence he becomes intolerant; and the moment that he can do so, he does not hesitate to persecute, deluding himself with the idea, that although his external conduct is the same with that which he had reprobated, the motives by which he is influenced, renders it, when practised by him, the unequivocal proof of sincere attachment to the purity of religion. And if the cause of liberty should have been implicated with his opinions, he fortifies his error by the persuasion, that he is directed by the warmest patriotism, no less

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than by the most fervent devotion. This detail, and these observations, are submitted to the reader, to prepare him for the new character which the Scotish presbyterians in the following reign assumed, and to account for that inveteracy against prelacy, and those unchristian views with respect to toleration, by which they were so remarkably distinguished, and which, without proper attention to the circumstances in which they were previously placed, and to the gradual operation of causes which had long existed, might so readily appear inexplicable, and excite a degree of astonishment and disgust, with which, had there been nothing to extenuate their malignity, they would most deservedly have been regarded.

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH.

Accession of Charles to the Throne....His Marriage....A Parliament....Arbitrary Measures of the Court....Its designs promoted by the Clergy....Another Parliament....The King's attention directed to Scotland.... Conduct of the Bishops....The Presbyterian Divines preserve their Influence....Proposals for introducing the Liturgy....The King visits Scotland....His Coronation.... A Parliament....Activity of Laud....Bishopric of Edinburgh founded....State of Scotland....Death of Archbishop Abbot....Discontent in Scotland increased.... Trial and Condemnation of Lord Balmerino....Elevation of Churchmen to the highest Offices of the State.... Scotland apparently tranquil....Book of Canons....Discontent excited by it....Reasons assigned by the King for imposing the Canons....They are not resisted by Acts of Violence....The Liturgy....Proclamation with respect to it....Intelligence of this Proclamation renews discontent....The Introduction of the Liturgy deferred....Agitation of the Public Mind....Causes of the Resolution to introduce the Liturgy....Tumult upon occasion of its being read....Remarks.

CHAP. XIII.

1625. Accession of Charles to the throne.

IMMEDIATELY after the decease of James, his only son Charles was, with the usual solemnities, proclaimed. Never did a sovereign ascend a throne when there was greater necessity for respecting the sentiments and feelings of his subjects. During

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the life of his father, just principles of government, notwithstanding the arbitrary maxims espoused by that monarch had been extensively disseminated, religious liberty was even in England highly valued, and anxiously desired; whilst in Scotland, the public mind was in a state of agitation or apprehension, which it was of the utmost importance to allay or to remove. The commencement of a reign always affords an opportunity for safely retreating from measures unpopular or pernicious. Mankind are naturally inclined to hope, that a prince just elevated to the throne, will promote the happiness of his people; and when this is strengthened by his gracious demeanour, the happiest effects may be expected to result. Had Charles profited by the lessons which late events forcibly inculcated, availed himself of the advantages of his situation, and impressed his subjects with the conviction, that he considered his interest and his glory as identified with their prosperity and their comfort, he might have checked the operation of causes which were daily acquiring strength, which soon destroyed his peace, and which produced convulsions, from which the nation at this time would have revolted with horror.

But unfortunately he had early imbibed political prejudices, which led him to adopt the most imprudent conduct, whilst his religious opinions attached him to the policy which it would have been wisdom to forsake. Educated in the sentiments of his

father, he was wedded to the most erroneous ideas respecting the nature and extent of his prerogative; he conceived, that the sole design and use of parliament was to furnish, in the easiest and most effectual manner, the supplies which he required; and that, if it proved refractory, he might administer his government without its controul.

James had displayed such versatility in his religious principles; and, after his arrival in England, had so completely departed from the solemn professions of his earlier years, that there is much reason for believing, that he supported the hierarchy merely from its being calculated, in his estimation, to establish his power; but Charles was convinced, that episcopacy, as it existed in the English church, was sanctioned by revelation, and that to modify or change it would be a breach of the most sacred duty. To all this, which in his circumstances tended to alienate the confidence of the nation, must be added his cold and forbidding manner. He received the attentions which, in the warmth of loyalty, were paid to him, with the most mortifying indifference; he made no effort to attach those whom a little condescension would have gained; and even when he bestowed a favour, he did it so ungraciously, that aversion or disgust extinguished the gratitude which would otherwise have been excited and cherished. *

* Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 237—239. Burnet's Memoirs of

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In his counsellors he was also singularly unfortunate. Captivated by the address of the Duke of Buckingham, who having ingratiated himself with James, had been rapidly exalted to the highest honours, he resigned to him the whole direction of the government. Buckingham was certainly possessed of splendid talents, but he was viewed with envy by many of the nobles. He was rendered arrogant by success, and, impelled by violent passions, which no prudential considerations led him to restrain, he often, in gratifying these, lost all respect for the dignity of parliament and the privileges of its members. *

In what regarded the church, the King was almost completely directed by Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who, through Buckingham, had acquired the royal favour; but who, from being constitutionally rash and violent, was disqualified for conducting ecclesiastical measures at a period, when moderation and Christian forbearance were so imperiously required. †

The King's marriage, 24th June, N. S.

Soon after the King's accession, his marriage

the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 29, and History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 23. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 148—150, and Vol. III. p. 320, 321.

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 167. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 6, 9, 21 and 26, folio edit. Oxford, 1702. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 1, edit. London, 1732.

† Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 69 and 72. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 240. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 18. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 151—153.

with Henrietta, the sister of the French monarch, which had been previously arranged, was solemnized; an event which, in whatever degree it contributed to his domestic happiness, increased the difficulties with which, in his public capacity, he was called to struggle; for it excited apprehensions regarding religion; apprehensions which were afterwards much increased by the deference which, subsequently to the death of Buckingham, he paid to the sentiments and counsels of his beautiful consort. * 1625. June 18.

A parliament.

Upon his ascending the throne, he displayed much anxiety to assemble his parliament, fully convinced that he would receive the most liberal supplies for prosecuting the war with Spain, the declaration of which had been most acceptable to the people. He opened the session by a short speech, in which he directed the attention of the commons to this subject, and he embraced the opportunity of alluding to aspersions which, even at this early period, had been cast upon the sincerity of his attachment to the Protestant faith. "Last of all," he told them, "because some malicious men may, and, as I hear, have given out, that I am not so true a keeper and maintainer of the true religion that I profess, I assure you that I may, with St Paul, say, that

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 170. Row's MS. p. 210. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 1. Grainger's Biographical History of England, Vol. II. p. 96.

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I have been trained up at Gamaliel's feet; and although I shall never be so arrogant as to assume unto myself the rest, I shall so far shew the end of it, that all the world may see that none hath been, or ever shall be, more desirous to maintain the religion I profess than I shall be." *

He had, however, the mortification to find, that parliament did not rely for the security of the Protestant religion even upon this gracious assurance; for one of its first acts was a petition against Popish recusants, and several of its proceedings had for their object to resist certain doctrines which the divines most noted for their high political tenets and their mild opposition to Popery, had publicly enforced. †

The King returned to the petition a general, though favourable answer, but his conduct in the estimation of parliament did not correspond to that answer; for, when it again met at Oxford, to which city it had been adjourned in consequence of the devastation by the plague in London, complaints were made by it, that notwithstanding his promise, communicated to the house, a pardon had, at the solicitation of a foreign ambassador, been granted to a number of Papists; and that orders had been

August.

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. I. p. 172. Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 21.

† Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 173. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 1. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 140. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 733—735.

issued by the secretary of state to two justices of peace, not to proceed against a woman, who, under suspicious circumstances, had refused to take the oath of allegiance. When these facts were represented to the King, accompanied by a request that he would give speedy and effectual redress, he resolved minutely to reply to all the parts of the petition respecting religion, which, at the commencement of the parliament, had been submitted to him. Having ordered the members of the two houses to meet him at Christ-Church, he declared his specific resolutions upon the various remedies which they had suggested for checking the dissemination of Popery, promising that he would act in such a manner as could not fail to satisfy all his subjects. He concluded his address by intimating his satisfaction that they had reminded him of taking care of religion; telling them, however, that he would have granted all which he had conceded, although they had not petitioned him, because he was led to it by conscience and duty to his father, who, in his last speech, had recommended to him the person, but not the religion of the Queen. *

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The concessions, although they could not fail to be gratifying to men who dreaded the increasing influence of opinions and practices which they view-

* Rushworth, in his Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 281—286, has inserted the petition, the remedies, and the King's answer. The whole is a most interesting document.

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ed as incompatible with the liberty and the independence of the nation, did not produce harmony between the parliament and the Sovereign. The commons persisted in their refusal to enlarge the scanty supply which they had voted, unless all the grievances of which they complained were redressed; and the King, irritated by what, in common with Buckingham, he reprobated as factious obstinacy, and by the freedom with which some of his ministers had been censured, hastily, and in anger, dissolved the parliament. *

12th Aug.

Arbitrary measures.

This rash step was immediately succeeded by the commencement of those arbitrary and unconstitutional exertions of the prerogative, which filled even the steadiest friends of monarchy with dismay,—which subverted the liberties of the kingdom, and rendered resistance a duty which every man owed, not merely to the nation at large, but to his own security, and to the freedom and happiness of his posterity. The King, unable to carry on the war with the slender revenues with which he had been furnished, addressed letters to the lord-lieutenants of the different counties, in which, after informing them that the state of the treasury rendered it necessary for him to borrow from gentlemen and others, he required them to report the names of such persons as they thought able to contribute,

* Rushworth, p. 191. Whitelocke, p. 2. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 22. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 735.

passing over, however, the nobility and clergy; and to all who were in consequence reported, letters under the privy-seal, and in the King's name, were issued, in which the confidence of the sovereign was expressed, that they would with alacrity pay the small sum with which they were charged, and they were assured that it should, within eighteen months, be repaid.* The money raised in this manner was too inconsiderable to relieve the pecuniary embarrassments of government, whilst the mode of raising it powerfully increased that jealousy of the court, and that conviction of the necessity of unremitting vigilance on the part of the people, which parliament had so unequivocally expressed. Accordingly, when the King found it prudent again to convene that assembly, although he attempted to gain the favour of the commons by some vigorous measures against Popish recusants, they immediately resumed the obnoxious subject of grievances, and insisted so firmly upon these being redressed, that, after much acrimony, parliament was dissolved.† CHAP. XIII. 1626. 6th Feb. 16th June.

By this dissolution, the supplies which might have been obtained were not given, and the most oppressive schemes were formed for replenishing the treasury. All who were represented as possessed of

* Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 193.

† Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 198. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 2—7. Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 244—252.

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wealth were commanded to contribute;—such as refused, were imprisoned;—the most dignified lawyers, who should have restrained the excesses of the executive power, basely betrayed the rights of their fellow-subjects, whilst the tyrannical courts of Commission and Star-Chamber, created by the sovereign, and paying no regard to the laws of the kingdom, pronounced the most irritating sentences against those who did not tamely submit to illegal and scandalous exactions. Such daring invasions of liberty, daily witnessed, could not fail, in the temper in which the nation previously was, to cherish disaffection. Many industriously insinuated that there was a fixed intention to alter the government, both in church and state; and even they who disapproved the high tone which parliament had assumed, and thought that the King had some ground of complaint, scandalized at a declaration which he at this time published to justify his conduct, could not altogether resist the impression which the discontented endeavoured to make upon the public mind. *

Designs of the court promoted by the clergy.

Although some of the clergy, and particularly Williams, the Bishop of Lincoln, who had been lord-keeper of the seals, were averse to the proceedings of the court, yet too many of the sacred order employed their influence in bending the people to sub-

* Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 52—55. Rushworth's Historical Collections, Vol. I. p. 412—414. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 7. Collier, Vol. II. p. 740.

mission, inculcating doctrines respecting the authority of kings repugnant to all just ideas of the nature of good government. Doctor Sibthorpe declared, in a sermon which he preached and published, "That it is the duty of the king to direct and make laws; that where the word of the king is, there is power; and who may say unto him, What dost thou?" He also affirmed, that "if princes do any thing which subjects may not perform, because it is against the laws of God and nature, or impossible, yet subjects are bound to undergo the punishment, without either resisting, or railing, or reviling, and so to yield a passive obedience where they cannot exhibit an active one. I know," he added, "no other case but one of these three, wherein a subject may excuse himself with passive obedience, but in all others he is bound to active obedience." This sermon was dedicated to the King, but the venerable Archbishop of Canterbury having refused to license it, the Bishop of London gave it his sanction, asserting, that it was a sermon learnedly and discreetly preached. To enforce the raising of money by the prerogative, Doctor Manwaring, in a discourse preached before his Majesty, did not hesitate to affirm, "That they who refused to pay the loan offended against the law of God and the King's supreme authority, and became guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion; that the authority of parliament was not necessary for raising aids and subsidies; and that the slow proceedings of such great

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1626. assemblies were not fitted for the supply of the state's urgent necessities, but would rather produce sundry impediments to the just design of princes."*

Such tenets, had they been advanced merely as the political sentiments of individuals, might have been treated with the contempt which they merited, but, countenanced, as they were, by the Sovereign, and daily carried into practice, they spread alarm through the kingdom, and gave strength to that spirit, which, in a few years, defied control.

1628. Another parliament. March 17. The imprudence of the court, which, impelled by Buckingham, declared war against France, forced Charles, notwithstanding his experience of the views of that assembly, again to assemble parliament. He delivered a speech, plainly intended to intimidate those who heard it; but the feelings of patriotism could not be repressed. The commons wisely determined to resist oppression, and they made the most strenuous efforts to effectuate such a change of policy as would have benefited the kingdom, and restored to the sovereign the affections of his people. It belongs not, however, to this history, to detail these efforts, efforts which were anxiously directed against the encroachments of Popery rendered peculiarly formidable by the alacrity shewn by the Catholics to assist the King;—

* Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 422, 423. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 8. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 740. Even this historian admits that Sibthorpe carried the prerogative to an unwarrantable length.

it is sufficient to observe, that, after many remonstrances and negociations, parliament was dissolved; and that the King not only avowed his determination not to call another, but imprisoned some of the members who had been most active in limiting the prerogative. * 1629.

A considerable period intervened between this dissolution and the meeting of the memorable long parliament, during which Clarendon declares that the kingdom enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity; but the calm was the deceitful tranquillity which despotism often produces; and the felicity which the noble historian celebrates, was the treacherous veil of satisfaction spread over the indignant feelings of suppressed patriotism. †

This slight view of the commencement of the reign of Charles, and of the manner in which he administered his government, is necessary for throwing light upon the momentous events which soon took place, and should be steadily contemplated, when the vigorous efforts for freedom in the two British kingdoms are surveyed and estimated.

1625. The King's attention directed to Scotland.

For some years after Charles ascended the throne, his attention was so engrossed with foreign policy, and with the affairs of England, that he did not materially interfere with the religious opinions of

* Rushworth's Collections, under 1628, 1629. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 72. Whitelocke, p. 9—13.

† Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 52 and 58.

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his Scotish subjects. He early, indeed, announced his resolution to enforce the articles of Perth, and declared his approbation of the ecclesiastical innovations which his father had introduced; but he did not alter the situation of the church with respect to its discipline, or to the ceremonies which it observed.* He made, however, some important regulations regarding property, and the temporal condition of the clergy.

The patrimony of the church, with the tithes or teinds which had constituted the ample revenues of the Popish priesthood, had, during the preceding reign, been under certain conditions annexed to the crown, but James had granted these to such of his subjects as had gained his favour, and had thus materially diminished what was intended to give splendour to the throne. From the grants thus made, much hardship had resulted to various classes of the community. It often happened, that the tithes were conveyed to persons who had no right to the estates out of which these duties were paid; and, as the law of Scotland prohibited the proprietors of the soil from removing the crop from the fields, till the tenth part had been carried away by the titular or proprietor of teinds, and as this was often vexatiously delayed, it was not uncommon to see

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 101, 102. Row's MS. History, p. 211. In both these works, the proclamation enforcing the articles is inserted. Kirkton's MSS. as quoted by Wodrow, Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 120.

the grain which might have been safely stored, damaged or destroyed. The titulars, denominated from the grants recently made to them, the lords of the new erection, also pressed severely upon the clergy, paying to them whatever sum they chose to assign to them, and frequently doing this so irregularly, that the ministers were not only poor, but in a state of dependance most unfavourable for mental exertion, and for that upright discharge of their duties which it was so important to secure. These evils were, in the strongest manner, represented to the King, who, desirous to give redress, and at the same time to increase his own revenue, determined to make a general revocation of all grants of church property, and afterwards to form such regulations as would relieve the landed proprietors, and deliver the clergy from the hardships under which they had so long suffered. This scheme excited much discontent in those who had been enriched chiefly by the plunder of the church; they resolved to oppose it; and they threw in the way of its execution so many obstacles, that, in its original form, it was prudently abandoned. The proprietors of teinds, however, were induced to make a surrender of these teinds, and a commission, under the great seal, was issued to a number of noblemen and gentlemen for regulating the points connected with this important business. The commissioners spent much time in investigating the matter; and, after mature deliberation, they ordained that the former practice of tak-

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26th June.

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ing the teind should be discontinued; they fixed the value of teinds, giving the owners of land a right to purchase them at that value; they followed the same mode as to the superiorities of abbey lands; and, for the relief of the clergy, they decerned that eight chalders of victual should be regularly paid to each parish minister by the proprietors of the tithes. These just resolutions were received by all parties with the utmost satisfaction, and they expressed to the King the gratitude with which, by his royal condescension, they had been inspired.*

The tendency of regulations so just in themselves, and so directly contributing to the comfort and the prosperity of a large part of the community, was to attach the people to the government of Charles, and to incline the clergy to give to it their support; and, had the King and the bishops availed

* Row's MS. History, p. 213—216. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in life of Spottiswoode, p. 103, and 108, 109. King's large Declaration, written by Balquanqual, revised by his Majesty, and published 1639, p. 1—9. This publication gave much offence to the zealous presbyterians; and, in the Assembly of 1639, (see Acts, p. 9.), they presented a supplication to the King's commissioner against it, in which they declared, that it contained many false, gross, and absurd passages. It is however vindicated by Bishop Burnet, in his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 116. He asserts, that it was most unjustly charged with being full of lies and calumnies; and he has shewn, that it gives accurate copies of the many official papers which were issued in the memorable year to which it refers. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 756. Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament under 1633. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 8, and 23, 24.

themselves of this favourable impression, and sought to secure the public esteem, it is not impossible that a new direction might have been given to the state of opinion, and that the antipathy with which episcopacy had been regarded, might have been weakened or removed. But there were many causes which counteracted the feelings now excited, and converted them into dissatisfaction and complaint. Although the lords of the new erection had received for the tithes what was considered as a fair value, and had expressed their satisfaction with the commutation, they soon found that their influence was diminished; they looked back with regret to the power which they had been accustomed to exercise over the ministers and the proprietors of land; and, in their anxiety to recover that power, or to gratify the ambition which the possession of it had cherished, they opened their minds to impressions, leading them to unite with those who complained that their rights had been infringed by the government. * Discontent was also increased by the apprehension, that, although the act of revocation had been suspended, or so modified as to remove all reasonable cause of complaint, the King was secretly desirous to carry it into effect, and to transfer to the church, from which, at the commencement of the reformation they had been wrested, those es-

* Large Declaration, p. 9, 10. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 766.

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tates which the nobility had long enjoyed. The earnest desire which Charles felt to provide suitable revenues for the bishops, he had, without reserve, manifested. He had purchased from the families of Lennox and of Hamilton, the domains connected with the abbey of Arbroath, and the lordship of Glasgow, and had assigned these to the two archbishops. He intended that this should serve as a precedent for the surrender of such lands as he wished to convey to the prelates, and he was much gratified, when several of his subjects offered to him, at a low valuation, the church-lands which they possessed.*

Conduct of the Bishops.

Much however of the dissaffection which was rapidly spreading over the community, must be attributed to the conduct of some of the bishops themselves. The prelates appointed by James had a strong inclination to promote his views with respect to the church, yet, intimately acquainted as they were with the feelings, the antipathies, and the principles of the people, they saw the danger of not paying to these some degree of deference and respect. Although James occasionally reproved them for their caution, he saw the importance of supplying the vacancies which happened amongst them by men whom they recommended, and, for this purpose, selected bishops from the list of candi-

* Large declaration, p. 6, 7. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 23, 24. Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 180, 181, and 183.

dates which they framed. Charles, or rather Laud, by whom he was guided, deviated from this salutary practice; and the new prelates were chosen from those who had obtained the favour of the court by their bold and intemperate zeal for the ecclesiastical innovations which were still contemplated. These prelates sought still farther to ingratiate themselves with Laud, by warmly espousing the Arminian tenets which he inculcated; by neglecting the prudent suggestions of the elder bishops; and by giving very erroneous views of the religious state of Scotland; leading to the belief, that there was no obstacle to prevent the complete assimilation of the Scotish church with the church of England. To the inferior clergy, they conducted themselves with a haughtiness or reserve, which excited indignation in men who had not forgotten the parity and free discussion sanctioned by the presbyterian discipline; whilst, elated by the dignity of the episcopal office, and by the partiality with which they were regarded by the sovereign, they assumed to all ranks a loftiness of demeanour which filled the nobles with the most violent indignation. *

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Whilst the higher orders of the episcopal clergy were thus confirming the prejudices entertained a-

The presbyterian divines preserve their influence.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 115. Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 13—15. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 30. Collier, Vol. II. p. 755. Balfour's MSS. quoted by Guthrie, in his History of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 182. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 300.

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gainst them, the presbyterians did not fail to improve the influence which their zeal and their doctrine had acquired. Although they were restrained from open exertion by the unconstitutional and arbitrary proceedings of the High Court of Commission, they privately intimated to those on whom they could depend, that the first Sunday of every month would be set apart for fasting and humiliation; and upon these days, they enlarged upon the dangers which were to be apprehended from episcopacy, representing it as militating against the great objects which the reformers were eager to secure. Their discourses were heard with much attention; and the effect of them was increased by the support which several of the nobility, jealous of the growing ambition and affluence of the church, gave to the advocates of a form of polity which left them in the unmolested possession of their wealth, and of those civil honours and preferments which, from the era of the reformation, had been conferred exclusively upon the most distinguished of the laity. *

Proposals for introducing the liturgy.

About this time the King, delivered from the embarrassment of a French war, formed the resolution to prosecute the design which his father had entertained, of regulating, by the forms of the English church, the mode in which public worship was to be performed in Scotland. It has been already mentioned, that, from one Assembly, a reluctant

* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 8. Collier's History, and Burnet's Memoirs, as last quoted.

approbation of a liturgy had been extorted. The state of Scotland, and the indolence of the King, had however prevented him from acting upon it; but his son, zealously devoted to the hierarchy, enjoined the bishops to proceed in what he conceived to be so requisite for the decency and utility of the services of the church. Upon receiving the royal mandate, they sent to London, Maxwell, afterwards Bishop of Ross, a zealous and able clergyman, who, upon his arrival, waited upon Laud, and conferred with that superstitious prelate upon the measures which were to be adopted. Laud insisted upon the propriety of at once introducing the English liturgy; but Maxwell prudently suggested, that this might again excite that dread of English ascendancy which had long been entertained, and proposed, that, to prevent this, some alterations in the liturgy should be made. The point was referred to the King, who decided in favour of Laud's opinion; but from some causes which have not been particularly recorded, probably from the remonstrances of the most experienced of the Scotish bishops, nothing was done in this matter till Charles, several years afterwards, visited his native kingdom. *

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He had long been desirous to come to Scotland, King visits Scotland.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spotti woode, p. 115. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 775. Life of Spottiswoode, in Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 174, 175. Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 63, 64.

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that he might formally receive the crown, and having at length procured that ominous tranquillity which followed the suspension of parliaments, he began his journey. Upon his arrival, he was received by the Scotish nobles with every expression of the warmest loyalty; they attended him to Edinburgh; and, that they might honour him with a suitable display of magnificence, they expended vast sums of money, which exhausted their limited revenues, and, by involving them in pecuniary difficulties, fostered discontent, and prepared them for opposition. *

1633. 13th May. 13th June.

18th June. His coronation.

In a few days after reaching the metropolis, he was crowned by Archbishop Spottiswoode, in the palace of Holyroodhouse, amidst the joyful acclamations of his subjects. During the ceremony, Laud, who had attended his sovereign, gave a striking proof of the violence by which he was distinguished. The Archbishop of Glasgow having appeared without the splendid vestments which had been prepared for the prelates, Laud thrust him from the left hand of the King, and placed in his room Maxwell, one of the most obsequious of the new bishops. †

* Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 61, 62. Balfour's MSS. quoted by Guthrie, Vol. IX. p. 206, note. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 25. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 13. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 175, 176, and 181, 182, published in London 1680. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 18.

† Franklyn's Annals of James and Charles I. London, 1681.

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Soon after his coronation, Charles assembled the parliament. From the nature of its constitution, he possessed a powerful influence over its deliberations; but, not satisfied with this, he shewed that it could expect his favour only by being in all things regulated by his will. Soon after his father ascended the throne of England, an act had been passed in Scotland, declaratory of the extent of the royal prerogative; and, in three years after, another act was sanctioned respecting the habits of churchmen, concluding with this extraordinary concession, that whatever in this matter should be ordained by his Majesty, should, without the intervention of the estates, have the force of a law. The concession, as is evident from the statute, was intended as a compliment to the wisdom of James, but was not designed to confer a general power upon his successors. Full of the designs of Laud to introduce into the church the utmost splendour of dress, and to burden divine worship with ceremonies little consonant to the spiritual nature of Christianity, Charles was anxious that the privilege which has been mentioned, and which his father wisely never exercised, should be given to him. To gratify him, the lords of the articles combined in one act the two statutes to which I have alluded; but when the new law was read in parliament, it was encounter-

1633. A Parliament, 28th June.

Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 131. ow's MS. p. 252. Laud's Diary.

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ed by a determined spirit of resistance. The Earl of Rothes conducted the opposition. He expressed his perfect acquiescence in the renewal of the act relating to the prerogative, but he insisted that it should not be combined with the other which had been incorporated with it; urging, that the part of the law regulating the habits of churchmen, was inconsistent with the liberties of the church, and ought not, without its concurrence, to be enacted. The King was much offended with this conduct of Rothes, which he probably supposed that his own presence would have prevented; he refused to accede to the reasonable proposal which that nobleman had made, and commanded him to desist from reasoning, and simply to give his vote. Having repeated this injunction to the other lords who supported Rothes, he took into his own hand a list of the members, and marked their votes. The majority was hostile to the court, and Charles could not fail to know from the paper which he held that this was the case. The clerk of parliament, however, whose office it was to announce the decision, scandalously affirmed, that the act, as presented, was approved; and when Rothes denied this, the King, instead of acting with the dignity and honour which might have been expected even from the humblest individual, gave his sanction to the falsehood of the clerk; and maintained, that as it was a capital crime to corrupt the records of parliament, they who accused another of doing so,

must, if they failed in establishing the charge, be subjected to the punishment of death. It was too hazardous for the lords to support an accusation which the whole royal influence would be exerted to suppress; and the act, which had been really rejected, was held to be confirmed by the estates. But the effect of the mean and indecent exertion of the prerogative by which this was accomplished, the King could not prevent. The noblemen, and all who knew what was the state of the case, were filled with the gloomiest apprehension. They saw that the King was regardless of parliament; that he was resolved to govern without control; and that, if no steps were taken to assert the privileges upon which he had trampled, every vestige of liberty would be removed. Although, therefore, they confined themselves at present to dissenting from an act in favour of religion, which, agreeably to common form, was passed, but to which they objected as anew sanctioning episcopacy, they, from this period, held meetings to deliberate upon the state of the kingdom, and paved the way for events hastening the commotions which soon took place. *

* Burnet, in his History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 25, 26, has given a full account of the two acts and of the conduct of the King; and although in the Large Declaration the charge is represented as a calumny (p. 12.), the anxiety shewn to refute it proves that it was generally believed, and had deeply impressed the public mind. Row, MS. History, p. 250—252, mentions the King's marking those who voted, adding, "the negative votes were thought by some to equal the affirmative." He also mentions that the King quarrelled the

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1633. In this parliament, all the proceedings respecting the valuation and sale of teinds, the stipends of the clergy, and the surrendering of tithes and superiorities, were confirmed, and a memorable law was passed, securing in every parish the erection of a parochial school. This interesting subject had been brought into view by the framers of the first Book of Discipline; amidst all the ecclesiastical struggles, it had been recommended by the General Assemblies; and the council had most laudably shewn much activity in promoting a good system of education.

1616. About twenty years before this period, an act of council had been framed for the plantation of schools; and this act, with some additional provisions, was now ratified by the legislature. *

Divine Service is performed by Laud.

During the King's residence in Scotland, he attended divine worship in the royal chapel, into which the liturgy had some time before been introduced. Laud delivered in it a sermon, in which, with unseasonable zeal, he expatiated upon the benefit which would be derived from conformity to the English ritual, and upon the reverence due to the ceremonies of the church. His audience probably consisted chiefly of courtiers, for the preju-

member who challenged the report of the register. Franklyn's Annals, p. 435, and Collier, Vol. II. p. 755. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 183. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 18.

* Murray's Collection of Acts of Parliament, and Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 775, 776. History of the Reformation in Scotland, Vol. II. last chapter.

dice against the liturgy was so strong, that few of the people would have attended where it was read; and this may explain what has been affirmed, that the sermon was heard with approbation.* Gratified by this applause, he lost no time in urging those changes, which it was one design of the King's visit to Scotland to hasten or to accomplish. Having called the bishops together, he enlarged upon the nakedness of the form of worship in Scotland, and proposed to remedy it by introducing the liturgy, and by composing certain canons for the regulation of public devotion. Spottiswoode, who, with all his errors, possessed a sound and enlarged understanding, saw the danger of acquiescing in the suggestions of Laud; and he probably dreaded the violence by which that prelate had disgusted numbers in England who were attached to episcopacy. He accordingly represented the opposition which had been made to the articles of Perth, and the risk of still greater opposition to innovations so far beyond what had ever been contemplated; and the older bishops firmly supported the wise caution of the primate. But the younger prelates were completely devoted to Laud; and, to ingratiate themselves with him, they ridiculed the idea of there being any hazard in carrying his views into execution. They succeeded in overcoming their more experienced brethren, and it was determined in fa-

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 64.

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vour of the liturgy; but still it was suggested, that some deviations should be made from the English form. Laud was shocked at the thought of changing, even in the slightest particular, a model which he venerated; but the King was at length, in some degree, influenced by the reasons which had been urged. It was agreed to make a few alterations, and the unfortunate task of framing a liturgy and a book of canons, was assigned to those of the bishops who were most in the royal favour. They were instructed to transmit to England the fruit of their labours, that it might be revised and corrected by Laud. *

Bishopric of Edinburgh founded.

Before leaving Scotland, Charles, to shew his zeal and reverence for episcopacy, founded the bishopric of Edinburgh; appointed the church of St Giles to be the cathedral; assigned to the new prelate, with the consent of the Archbishop of St Andrews, certain lands which had been purchased from the Duke of Lennox; and nominated to the see, Forbes, a man of considerable learning, but who was suspected of being partial to the popish religion. †

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 131, 132. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 175. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 15, 16. Clarendon's Hist. Vol. I. p. 27.

† Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 132—135. There is a very full account of the erection in this work. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 66, 67. Row's MS. p. 254. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 27. Keith's Catalogue, p. 28—38.

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The King returned to England, discontented with the issue of his journey. He had failed in modelling the church agreeably to the wishes of Laud; and he had encountered from the nobles a firmness of opposition, and a vigour of patriotism, for which the abundant supply, voted by his parliament, formed in his opinion no adequate compensation. *

State of Scotland

His visit had been far from conciliating the affections of his people. Many of the nobles were dissatisfied by the unconstitutional measures of the King, and that dissatisfaction was aggravated by his refusal to confer upon some of their number the titles which they solicited, and by his determination to regain for the crown the church-lands which had been alienated. To accomplish this, he appointed Sir Thomas Hope, one of the ablest lawyers of that period, to the office of king's advocate: a choice which ultimately proved unfavourable to the court, Hope being firmly attached to those constitutional principles for which the nation so soon resolved to contend. † The presbyterian clergy, and those whom they influenced, were also much exasperated. Upon the King's arrival several of the ministers drew up a paper, entitled, "Grievances and petitions concerning the disordered state of the reformed

* Burnet's History, Vol. I. p. 27.

† Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 27. Large Declaration, p. 11.

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church within the realm of Scotland." In it they, with great force and precision, urged their objections to a vote in parliament being granted to those who had been invested with prelacies, craving that the acts of Assemblies respecting this matter might be put in execution;—they lamented the deviation from the resolutions of the Assembly at Glasgow, by which greater power than had been intended was conveyed to the bishops;—they craved that the act of parliament 1592, in favour of the regular holding of Assemblies, should be revived, bewailing the corruption of doctrine and manners to which the repeal of it had given rise;—they remonstrated against the articles of Perth, and the imposition of oaths by the bishops, which had never been sanctioned by the church;—and they concluded by expressing their earnest wish that ecclesiastical proceedings should be committed to the proper judicatories, and that the High Court of Commission should be abolished. * It was the intention of the persons by whom the paper was composed, to submit it to the King and the estates, and, with a view to this, it was delivered to Hay, the clerk-register, whose duty it was to lay it before the lords of the articles. Believing, however, that it would irritate, and could produce no good to those who had pre-

* This energetic paper is to be found in Balfour's MS. It was printed separately, and is engrossed by Franklyn in his Annals, with some marginal annotations, p. 433, 434.

sented it, he very improperly suppressed it, upon which the ministers humbly delivered it to the King himself whilst he was at Dalkeith. He read the paper, but he paid to it no farther attention, thus wounding the feelings of the presbyterians by contempt more mortifying than any reply which he might have condescended to make.* When this total disregard of what appeared to them of vast importance, was conjoined with the decided attachment which his Majesty displayed for that form of ecclesiastical polity, and those ceremonies, which they regarded as contaminating the purity of religion, it could not fail to confirm every prejudice which they entertained against the government; and their own impressions they naturally stamped upon the minds of their devoted adherents, thus kindling that zeal which, in a few years, burst forth and swept away every trace of episcopacy in Scotland. CHAP. XIII. 1633.

Soon after the King's return to England died Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, a man who had long withdrawn from the intrigues of court, but who had occasionally interfered to remonstrate against measures which irritated the nation, and appeared to him calculated to wound the vital interests of the ecclesiastical establishment. Charles did not hesitate in nominating the successor of the Death of Archbishop Abbot. August.

* Guthrie's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 211. Franklyn says, that Hay did read it to the lords of the articles, and that it was by them rejected as vain and frivolous.

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primate. He rewarded the zeal of Laud by exalting him to the most distinguished situation in the church; and from this period, till parliament arrested his career, he openly guided all ecclesiastical counsels, daily introducing ceremonies which, in the estimation of reasonable men, rendered religion contemptible,—which disgusted those who were attached to the maxims and practices of the earliest reformers,—and produced a very general conviction that he was secretly desirous to restore the errors and the superstition of Popery. Detesting the puritans, whom he considered as enemies equally to the church and to the state, he embraced, in opposition to them, the tenets of Arminius,—defended these tenets with incautious ardour,—and thus gave an additional shock to that reverence for the hierarchy, which still widely existed, and which the soundest policy should have led him anxiously to cherish. *

Discontent in Scotland increased.

Had the King permitted himself calmly to reflect upon the situation of his native country, he would probably have discerned the necessity of the most prudent and lenient administration, in order to extinguish the disaffection which there was so much reason to dread. But it was the error and the misfortune of this prince, never to recede from the

* Clarendon's Hist. Vol. I. p. 68, 69, and 71, 72. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 757. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 232—235.

highest maxims of arbitrary power till he was compelled to renounce them. Cherishing the idea that the energy of the prerogative would ultimately overpower all resistance, he acted towards Scotland in a manner which would have irritated the meekest subjects, and which was peculiarly obnoxious to a people fond of liberty, and who had been accustomed freely to examine the measures of their sovereign. CHAP. XIII. 1633.

Whilst the nobles were provoked by the interference of Charles with the deliberations of parliament, Hayne, his Majesty's solicitor, a zealous friend to the liberties of the kingdom, had framed a petition, in which the grounds of complaint were enumerated, with the intention, that, after it had been subscribed by the lords, whose sentiments it conveyed, it might be presented to the King. The lords, however, although they approved the substance of the paper, thought that it needed correction, and the alterations to be made in it were pointed out by Lord Balmerino, the son of that nobleman who had been sacrificed on account of the letter addressed by James to the Pope. The Earl of Rothes, who had heard what was designed, and had procured a copy of the petition, gave it to the sovereign. Irritated at the information which he received from Rothes, he refused to read the memorial, and this having been mentioned to Balmerino, the affair was abandoned. He preserved the petition, however, merely as a matter of curio- 1634. Trial and and condemnation of Lord Balmerino.

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sity, and interlined the corrections which he had suggested. In the following winter, the propriety of presenting it again occurred to this nobleman, and, that it might be put in an unexceptionable form, he submitted it to a lawyer in whom he confided, and permitted him, after receiving his assurance that he would not shew it, to carry it to his house. In violation of his promise, he communicated it, though under an injunction of secrecy, the value of which his own conduct might have pointed out to him, to Hay of Naughton, who hated Balmerino, and who immediately carried it to Spottiswoode. The primate sent it to the King, under the impression that it was intended to be extensively circulated. An order was instantly issued to proceed against Balmerino. It is difficult to conceive how his conduct could be considered as criminal. The paper did not contain any agreement hostile to the rights of the crown;—it was merely a petition and complaint similar to what, whilst the royal family resided in Scotland, had often been brought to the foot of the throne. That the matter of the petition was cautiously expressed, may be inferred from the fact that the Earl of Rothes had wished the King to peruse it, and it had been rendered even milder than it originally was, by the interlineations of Balmerino. * Neither was it a do-

* Row, in his MS. Hist. p. 261—270, has inserted the petition, which reflects much credit upon the moderation and the patriotism of those by whom it was prepared.

cument calling for the notice of the executive government, for it had not been published, and would probably never have been heard of till it was presented, had it not dishonourably been put into the possession of the Archbishop. Of the remonstrance or complaint, such as it was, Balmerino was not the author, and this was perfectly known, for Hayne, who had retired to Holland, voluntarily declared that he had, without assistance, composed it. 1634.

Yet, in the face of all these reasons, Balmerino was arraigned upon some ancient statutes, loosely expressed, which ordain that capital punishment should be inflicted upon all who disseminate falsehood respecting the king, and endeavour to alienate the loyalty of his subjects. The court was constituted by special commission, and the most indecent methods were employed to procure a sentence acceptable to the crown. The conducting of the trial was assigned to the Earl of Traquair, a man of eloquence and address, eager to ingratiate himself with the ruling party. Yet he and several of the King's ministers were permitted to be of the jury, and every precaution was used that the remainder of those who composed it should be equally obsequious. Balmerino's defence was admirably calculated to impress even the most prejudiced mind, and the jury having heard it, were enclosed to give their sentence. Gordon of Buckie, an old man in whom Traquair confided, addressed his brethren. Above forty years before he had been accessory to 3d Dec.

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the death of the Earl of Murray, and he alluded to this as the apology for delivering his opinion. He besought them to consider that the life of a fellow-creature was at stake, and, with tears streaming down his aged countenance, warned them, from his own melancholy experience, that if, contrary to conscience, they condemned the pannel, they might, as he had done, obtain the pardon of their sovereign, but they would find how difficult it was to procure the pardon of God. This speech, so awfully interesting,—the defence of Balmerino, and the conviction that he was unjustly sacrificed, pressed upon the jury; and although the prisoner was found guilty, he was so only by one of majority.

In the trial the people took the most enthusiastic interest. They venerated the prisoner as the vindicator of the liberties of the church; they associated with his fate all the religious privileges which they most dearly valued; and when sentence was pronounced against him, they set no bounds to their indignation. They loudly expressed their abhorrence of the oppression by which he was placed in the awful situation in which he stood; they threatened to rescue him from prison, and even to wreak their vengeance upon the judges, and upon those of the jury by whom he had been condemned. Traquair was alarmed at this commotion, and, partly from his representation, partly from the reluctance of Charles to take the life of a subject who had been found guilty by so small a majority, Balmerino

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was pardoned. The pardon, however, was regarded as extorted from the weakness of government; and, by shewing what might be gained by steady resistance, strengthened the inclination to unite in opposition to measures which all classes execrated.* 1634.

1635. Elevation of churchmen to the highest offices of the state.

The nobility were, about this period, much alienated from the King, by his withdrawing from them those high offices in the state, to which, from their rank, they naturally aspired. After the Reformation, few civil preferments, and none which could excite envy, were bestowed upon the clergy. It was the admirable maxim of Knox, and of those who adhered to him, that a minister of religion should be occupied with his sacred duties; and this maxim was strengthened by the presbyterian principles, which, after his death, were embraced in Scotland. The nobles were much gratified by the immense accession of wealth and power which thus accrued to their order, and they were disposed to assert, as a right, what had been so recently con-

* Row's MS. Hist. p. 274, 275, and 278—282, He says, that, during the whole days of the trial, "the people, with great and loud voices, were praying for my Lord Balmerino, and for all that loved him, and prayed for a plague to come upon them that had the wite of his trouble, and the magistrates could not possibly get them stayed." Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol I. p. 27—32. He mentions the access which he had to accurate information. Balfour's MSS. quoted by Wodrow, in his life of Spottiswoode, Vol. III. p. 136, and by Guthrie, Vol. IX. p. 212, and 215—217. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 9—11. With the writers which have been quoted should be compared the account given in the Large Declaration, p. 12—15.

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ferred. Charles, however, was determined to restore to the prelates that distinction which, under
1635. the Popish system, they had long enjoyed, trusting that he should thus both strengthen his government, and succeed in carrying into effect his ecclesiastical arrangements. He accordingly promoted several of the bishops to be judges in the Court of Exchequer,—admitted them as members of the privy-council, and, upon the death of the Earl of Kin-
Jan. noul, he made Spottiswoode chancellor, thus raising him to the highest situation in the kingdom, and to that which the most powerful of the nobility strove to attain. As might have been foreseen, they were indignant at the elevation of men upon whom they were disposed to look with contempt; and the feelings thus excited were strengthened by the arrogance of the bishops, by the coarseness of their manners, and by the influence which, from their number in the privy-council, they possessed. Even the nobles who had no dislike to episcopacy were disgusted at the deference shewn to the prelates; and they were thus disposed to join with those of their number who detested a form of polity not less offensive to the feelings of the nation than it was to their own ambition. To these causes of discontent must be added the dread that they would be forced to renounce the patrimony of the church. They plainly saw that the object of the Sovereign was to aggrandize the clergy, and they knew that the most effectual mode of doing so was to restore

to them the ample possessions, of which, by the Reformation, they had been deprived. *

1635. Scotland apparently tranquil.

But although the seeds of disaffection were thus widely sown, and, by perverted policy, constantly fostered, Scotland was apparently tranquil. This has been ascribed to the prudence of the discontented faction, the members of which contemplated, with secret pleasure, the excesses which they witnessed, and anticipated, from tolerating them, such an ebullition of popular fury as would secure the accomplishment of their own schemes. † This, however, supposes in the lords and the ministers a refinement of policy little consistent with the manners and the tumultuous spirit of the times. It is more probable that the influence of the bishops, supported, as it was, by the executive power, did produce momentary despair, or rendered necessary a degree of caution, which blinded the prelates, not disposed attentively to examine the state of opinion, or perhaps inclined to treat it with contempt. ‡

* Row's MS. Hist. p. 277. Row remarks of Spottiswoode, "It was thought be mony, he being an olde and infirme man, and very unmeet for so great charges both in kirk and commonwealth, that this was only done for a preparative that the bishops of younger years might succeed to him." Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 67, 68. Burnet's Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton, p. 28. Wodrow's MSS. in life of Spottiswoode, Vol. III. folio, p. 186 188. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 314. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 12, 13. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 23.

† Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 16.

‡ Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 84. In the Large Declaration, p. 19—21, it is affirmed that government were not aware of opposition.

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1636. Book of Canons.

It was not till this year that the Book of Canons, which it had been resolved, when the King was in Scotland, speedily to collect, was completed. It is likely that the delay was occasioned by the deference which the younger prelates found it prudent to pay to the sentiments of their more experienced brethren, who were averse to the plan. Supported, however, by the court, and rapidly ascending in the scale of promotion, they seriously entered upon the work which had been assigned to them. They began with the canons, either from their considering these as more easily prepared than the liturgy, or as affording them a better opportunity for bringing forward some opinions which they knew would be acceptable to the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Maxwell, Sidserfe, Whitfort, and Banantine the bishops of Ross, Galloway, Dunblane, and Aberdeen, were the compilers of the canons, which were transmitted to London, that they might be revised by Laud and two other English prelates; after which, without any correspondence with the nobility or clergy of Scotland, they were confirmed by the King. He issued, under the great seal, an instrument, in which it was declared, that his Majesty, by his prerogative-royal and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical, ratified the said canons, orders, and constitutions, and all and every thing in them contained, and strictly commanded all archbishops, and others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to see them punctually observed. This sanc-

tion was dated at Greenwich, on the May of the preceding year; and in consequence of it the Scotish bishops, after they had procured copies of the canons, which were printed at Aberdeen, circulated them through their dioceses as the rule by which the clergy were to be directed. * CHAP. XIII. 1638.

Discontent excited.

Whatever had been contained in the Book of Canons, the mode in which it was published and confirmed could not fail to displease the ministers and the admirers of the presbyterian polity. From the time of the Reformation, ecclesiastical jurisdiction was vested in the General Assemblies, and although this was sometimes disregarded, it had never been directly denied by the most zealous advocates of episcopacy. It now, however, was set completely at defiance. Regulations affecting the form and the privileges of the church, were declared to be law, although they had never been submitted to any convention of the clergy; these regulations had been composed by a few individuals, little respected, and had been modified by English prelates, who had no title to interfere with the Scotish establishment. The slightest acquaintance with the state of Scotland might have shewn to Laud the danger of giving such a shock to public opinion. It is indeed impossible to suppose that he did not see it, al-

* Clarendon's Hist. Vol. I. p. 84. Row's MSS. p. 301. Wodrow's MS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 131, and 141, 142. He supposes the archbishop to have been very active in promoting the canons, which does not seem to have been the case.

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though he afterwards availed himself of the apology, that he had enjoined the Scotish bishops not to propose to him any thing inconsistent with the laws of their country. But he should not have, in a matter so deeply involving the security and comfort of his sovereign, relied on the judgment of any set of men; it was his duty to ascertain for himself, as he could easily have done, what was the state of the fact, and there can be little doubt that he did so; but that, convinced that if the canons were submitted to an assembly of ministers they would be rejected, he judged it safer to trust their reception to the reverence which he believed would be paid to the authority of the King. * The consequence was, that the attempt to impose the new regulations was almost universally execrated as an arbitrary exertion of the prerogative, and that political considerations, no less than religious, induced men to make to it the most determined opposition.

But it was not merely from the manner in which the canons originated, that they proved, in a high degree, offensive; much of what they inculcated was regarded as paving the way for Popery, or for the most arbitrary principles of government. The book prescribed a number of observances as to baptism and the Lord's supper, which seemed to

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 84. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 764. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 142.

arise from notions of these ordinances which Protestants had disclaimed. For administering baptism a font was to be prepared and fixed near the church door, according to the ancient usage, and presbyters were enjoined to dispense it without distinction of days, in cases of sickness and of danger. It was required, that, for celebrating the holy communion, a decent table should be provided, and set at the upper part of the chancel, or church; that, in the time of divine service, the table should be covered with a handsome stuff carpet; and, when the eucharist was dispensed, with a white linen cloth. All this might have been considered merely as too scrupulous attention to trifling arrangements; but the religious prepossessions of the people were alarmed by the requisition, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be received in a kneeling posture; and as if some mysterious effect had been produced upon the bread and wine, that what remained of them after the service should be given to the poorer sort of those who had communicated, and should be consumed by them in the church. The power vested in bishops was very formidable. All private meetings of presbyters, or any other persons, for expounding scripture, or debating matters ecclesiastical, were interdicted, things of this nature being only to be discussed in synods of bishops: it was ordained, that no preacher should impugn the doctrine delivered by another in the same church, or any adjacent

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one, without leave from the bishop; that no person should teach either in public schools or in private houses, without being licensed by episcopal authority; and that, without this authority, no sentence of excommunication should be pronounced, or absolution given by any presbyter. In short, the complete command of the church was given to the bishops, and the religion of the kingdom was thus laid at the foot of the throne.

Some of the canons relating to the clergy were very remarkable. It was enjoined, that no presbyter should discover any thing told to him in confession, excepting the crime was such that the concealment of it endangered his own life, a rule which certainly implied approbation of the practice of confession, and not unnaturally inspired apprehensions, that abuses, which were not avowed, might be gradually introduced. * It was enacted, that no presbyter should hereafter be caution or surety for any person whatsoever, in civil bonds and contracts, under the penalty of suspension; and it was required, that bishops and presbyters, if they died without issue, should leave their effects, or a great part of them, to pious uses; and that those of them who had children, should, notwith-

* Row in his MS. Hist. speaking of the canons, p. 301, 302, says, "There were not many impious things or novelties in them, but apparently they were set out, that men might know that more impious canons would be set out."

standing, bestow some legacies to shew their affection for the church; canons which seemed to separate the clergy from the laity, and to pave the way for an immense accumulation of ecclesiastical wealth. 1636.

The compilers of the Book of Canons thought it right to regulate political as well as religious sentiment; for they inculcated, that whosoever should affirm that the king's majesty had not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical that the godly kings had amongst the Jews, or the Christian emperors in the primitive church; or should in any part impugn his royal supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, was to incur the sentence of excommunication. The prerogative is not here expressly extended to civil matters; but it is evident, that if the power defined had been granted to the monarch, he would have found little difficulty in becoming absolute; and this indeed had been already experienced in the erection of the Courts of High Commission, and in the arbitrary proceedings which, in consequence, took place.

The reformers had anxiously maintained, that there was a distinction between temporal and spiritual jurisdiction, vesting the former in the King, and the latter in the church. This hazardous opinion, so inconsistent, if not very strictly limited, with the harmony which is the strength of a state, was secretly adopted by many of the zealous ministers and their adherents; and hence they reprobated

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one of the canons, in which it was declared, that national or General Assemblies were to be called only by the King's authority; that the decrees of such assemblies, in matters ecclesiastical, should bind the absent; and that it should not be lawful for the bishops themselves, in such assemblies or elsewhere, to alter any rubrick or canon, doctrinal or disciplinary, without his Majesty's leave first had and obtained. The state of religion was thus placed almost entirely under the control of the crown, and the King was, in fact, vested with power little inferior to that which the Popes themselves had enjoyed.

But the part of the canons which even at first excited the greatest dissatisfaction, and which, from subsequent events, must be considered as of the most importance, was that which related to the introduction of the liturgy. Although forms of prayer had been used by the first reformers, yet officiating ministers were always permitted to depart from them; and after the sentiments of Melvil were disseminated, extemporaneous addresses to the Deity were not only warmly recommended, but the contrary practice was associated with a predilection for popery. James, however, had extorted from one assembly the sanction of a liturgy; though, from the prudence of the bishops, and the political situation of the kingdom, no liturgy was introduced. But the framers of the canons threw aside, with respect to this delicate subject, all reserve. Not only was the

censure of excommunication denounced against those who affirmed that the worship prescribed by the book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments was repugnant to the scriptures, or was corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful, but every presbyter was required, by himself, or by another qualified person, to read, or cause divine service to be done, according to the form of the book of Scotish common prayer, before all sermons, and he was prohibited from praying extempore under the penalty of deprivation. With strange folly or inadvertence, all these injunctions were published and enforced by an oath, upon the clergy, before the form to which they referred had been composed or seen by the persons who were thus bound to observe it in all its parts. This suggested the suspicion, that a snare was laid for the consciences of the ministers; all condemned the attempt to bind men to conform to they knew not what; and in the temper in which multitudes then were, they were easily persuaded, that it was necessary to resist such oppression, and scrupulously to examine a liturgy, which, in such an obnoxious manner, had been imposed. If the obvious and rational plan had been adopted of first publishing the liturgy, although it is not probable that opposition to it would have been prevented, yet that opposition might have been less formidable, and it would have

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Reasons assigned by the King for imposing the canons.

been deprived of one of the strongest grounds upon which it was rested. *

From the general view which has been taken of the canons, it is apparent that they were intended to introduce practices which had been unknown in Scotland since the Reformation. This it would have been prudent frankly to admit, or at least not expressly to deny; but the language of the court was, that the design of the book was to deliver, shortly, and in a compact form, the regulations which were scattered through voluminous acts of Assembly, to which few had access, and which even the clergy had not leisure to search; thus avowing that there was to be in fact no change, and no innovation. The falsehood of this pretence it required no labour to expose. The people knew, and their ministers would carefully remind them, that, after the reformed religion triumphed, bishops were not recognized in Scotland,—that episcopacy, as it now existed, had been strenuously opposed till the beginning of the seventeenth century,—and that the canons, therefore, instead of being in conformity with the acts of different Assemblies, were in ex-

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 84—86. Row's MSS. p. 301, 302. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 141—143. Book of Canons printed at Aberdeen, and transcribed by Wodrow in his appendix to the life of Spottiswoode. Petition of the noblemen, gentlemen, minsters, and burgesses, to the Lords of the secret council, in the Large Declaration, p. 42—44. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 178—180. Collier, Vol. II. p. 762—764.

press contradiction to these acts, and even supplanted the authority by which they had been sanctioned. Although this plea was not formally urged till the King, in the Large Declaration, vindicated his conduct, there can be no doubt that it was privately stated, and endeavoured to be confirmed by the resolution of that Assembly, which, in compliance with the wishes of James, had upon this ground consented that canons should be prepared. Nothing tended more to alienate the people from the establishment, and from the government, than such insincerity;—it destroyed all confidence; it convinced them that nothing, however unwarrantable, would be overlooked, by which the innovations could be imposed; and it may be considered as laying the foundation of that distrust with which, at an after period, they listened to the concessions of their sovereign. *

They are not resisted by acts of violence.

But although the discontent excited by the publication of the Book of Canons was great and widely diffused, it did not give occasion to any outrage against the bishops or the court. The ministers saw the danger of any precipitate attempt to procure the liberty which they so much valued, and they rested satisfied with dwelling upon the

* Large Declaration, p. 44, 45. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 142, 143. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 762. For the sentiments of the Assembly which agreed that canons should be composed, see Calderwood, p. 664. Burnet's Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton, p. 30.

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dangers with which they were threatened,—with representing what had been done as the commencement of a system for overthrowing the constitution of the church,—and with imparting to those persons in England, who mourned over the tyranny of Laud, the sentiments which they themselves entertained. * An opportunity was thus afforded of repairing in some degree the error which had been committed. Had the prelates, or those whose instruments they had become, now acted with the caution which was so plainly required; had they not enforced the canons, or had they resolved not to increase dissatisfaction, by persisting to introduce the liturgy, which was held in abhorrence, the murmurings which had been so loud would have gradually subsided, and the schemes of the court would, more slowly indeed, but more successfully, have been carried into execution. † But the younger bishops, impelled by Laud, neglected every warning, and, with astonishing infatuation, treated with contempt the feelings and prejudices which it was so hazardous to resist.

The liturgy.

The liturgy was composed chiefly by Wedderburn, Bishop of Dunblane, who for this purpose had been translated to his see from an English benefice, and by Maxwell, Bishop of Ross. They

* Clarendon's Hist. Vol. I. p. 84. Whitelocke, p. 23.

† Baillie, in his Letters and Journals, Vol. 1. p. 1, intimates, that the complaints were diminishing, for he says, "when we were beginning to forget the Book of Canons," &c.

adopted the greater part of the book of common-prayer used in England, introducing, agreeably to what had been determined, some marks of distinction by which the Scotish model was characterized. In this part of their task they displayed that rashness and that tendency to superstition which had marked the whole of their preceding conduct. Instead of using the permission which they had obtained so as to render the liturgy as much as possible conformable to the religious sentiments of their countrymen, they introduced expressions and forms which convinced the great majority who perused the book that it was really a disguised mass. Laud, and Wren, Bishop of Norwich, revised it after it was sent to London, and the primate made some corrections, bringing it still nearer to the Popish ritual.* It required the use of the cross in baptism, and of the ring in the celebration of marriage; the consecration of water, at particular times, by prayer, which water was to be poured into the fonts for administering baptism; a prayer was introduced to be used when the elements were delivered, and which was conceived to give some sanction to the doctrine of transubstantiation; there was a benediction or thanksgiving for departed saints; and the deacon was, upon his knees, to offer what was

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* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 138 and 143. Kirktoun, who saw the original book corrected by Archbishop Laud, says, that the corrections were mostly removes backward to Popery and the Romish missal.

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called a memorial, or prayer of oblation, in which he said, " O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ, we, thy humble servants, do celebrate and make here, before thy divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make." *

When the liturgy was brought into the form which Laud wished it to assume, the resolution was adopted of introducing it into Scotland without submitting it to presbyteries, or obtaining the sanction of the General Assembly; a resolution which, taken in conjunction with previous measures, removed all doubt that the liberties of the church were to be wrested from it, and the faith of the people to be regulated by a set of men, certainly not exempted from error, and who were believed to have deviated from the purity of the reformed faith. † The King first gave his instructions to the archbishops and bishops, pointing out how they were to act, and he soon issued a proclamation, in which, after announcing, that, from his accession to the crown, he had

Proclamation with respect to it. 20th Dec.

* Collier, in his Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 768, 769, has enumerated all the differences between the Scotish liturgy and the English common-prayer book. See also Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 1 and 2, and Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. II. p. 298, 299. For the manner in which the liturgy was framed, the reader may consult Collier, Vol. II. p. 767, King's Large Declaration, p. 17—19.

† Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 86. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 2. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 18, 19. Collier, Vol. II. p. 770.

recommended a form of service in the worship of God to be uniformly observed in his ancient kingdom, which form was now completed, he required all his subjects, both ecclesiastical and civil, to conform themselves to the said form of public worship, commanding all archbishops and bishops, and other presbyters and churchmen, to take special care that the same was duly obeyed, and the contraveners condignly censured and punished. He concluded with an order that every parish should be furnished with two copies of the liturgy between the publication of the injunction and the following Easter. *

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This proclamation was brought from court by the Bishop of Ross, and it was, by order of the council, without delay formally published. All who had been averse to the canons were equally so to the liturgy; and although there was no open tumult, they did not hesitate to declare that the new service was, in their estimation, Popery in disguise. Many of the more prudent bishops highly disapproved of several of the ceremonies which it enforced; and the publication of it, which advanced very slowly, was supposed to be retarded by the anxiety of the bishop of Edinburgh, the successor to the first bishop, that these should not be enjoined. He was resisted steadily by Laud, who, not

The intelligence of this proclamation renews discontent.

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. II. folio, p. 144, compared with Collier, Vol. II. p. 769, where the proclamation is inserted. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 3.

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satisfied with this, transmitted to Spottiswoode some additional rites, which he peremptorily insisted should be inserted. A powerful faction was determined to withstand the mandate of the King. All the nobility and laymen of property, who were indignant at the arrogance of the clergy, and dreaded that the patrimony of the church would be appropriated to support their magnificence, gladly fostered the popular discontent, joining with the presbyterians and the moderate episcopalians in measures, from which the former anticipated the destruction of the hierarchy, and the latter some mitigation of the violence with which the prelates had for some time acted. *

The introduction of the liturgy deferred.

The ferment which had been excited by the proclamation gradually increased. The country was divided into parties, daily becoming more exasperated against each other, and the dread of adding to this violent spirit suggested to the more experienced prelates the wisdom of delaying the introduction of the liturgy till circumstances became more favourable. In this opinion all the lay part of the privy-council acquiesced, and delay was powerfully urged by Hope, the King's advocate, from his wish that the presbyterians, whose cause he espoused, might be better prepared for opposi-

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 1, 2. Collier, Vol. II. p. 769. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 147.

tion. Whatever were the motives which influenced the leading men, the fact is, that the impetuosity of the younger bishops was restrained, and that Easter passed without any attempt to enforce the liturgy. This, however, was not attributed to any relaxation of zeal, or to any wish to conciliate;—the pretexts assigned for the delay were not believed; and the suspicion that it resulted from timidity or weakness on the part of the executive power, confirmed the discontented party in that determination to resist, from the apprehension of which the King's positive mandate had been suspended. *

The prelates devoted to Laud felt indignant at this hesitation, and, in opposition to the prudent counsel of the primate, they insisted that the work should proceed. They were supported by Traquair. It has been supposed that his support was given from secret antipathy to the bishops, to whom he believed that pressing the liturgy would prove fatal. This policy, however, is not consistent with other parts of that nobleman's character. There can be no doubt that he was at one time disgusted with the inordinate ambition of Maxwell, who as-

* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 17. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 1, 2. Wodrow's MSS. Vol III. in life of Spottiswoode, p. 147. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 387. King's Large Declaration, p. 21, 22. Burnet's Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton, p. 81, and Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 33. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 87. Guthrie's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 226. This writer mentions that Hope advised the delay.

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pired to the office of treasurer, and that he had thwarted some of the schemes by which the bishops attempted to aggrandize their order; but, warmly attached to his sovereign, it is not probable that he would countenance what he must have seen to threaten the security of the throne. His eagerness for the liturgy, in all likelihood, resulted from his anxiety to gratify Laud, the great channel of promotion and of honour, whose favour he would have instantly forfeited had he resisted a plan in which that ambitious primate was so deeply interested. The wise suggestions which should have been regarded were thus despised, and it was finally decided that the liturgy should not be abandoned. *

Agitation of the public mind.

When the determination of the court was announced, measures were taken by the bishops to enforce that part of the proclamation which required that two copies of the book should be purchased by every parish. Upon this occasion it was that the Bishop of Galloway held within his diocese a subsidiary court of high commission, the violent proceedings of which gave rise to much irritation; and most of the other prelates, although they did not employ this method of gaining their object, shewed their determination that it should be accom-

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 87, compared with Collier, Vol. II. p. 270. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 17, 18. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 32, compared with his Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 33. Wodrow, Vol. III. fol. p. 139, mentions, that the design of the prelates to restore the state of abbots had been defeated.

plished. Some copies of the liturgy were now circulated, and the ministers anxiously prepared their people to resist its introduction. They made it the constant subject of their discourses,—enumerated what they considered as the errors which it contained,—expatiated upon the manner in which it had been framed, and in which it was to be imposed, not only without the concurrence of any Assembly of the church or state, but in express opposition to the laws of both; and they concluded by stigmatizing it as the mass in English, brought in by the craft and violence of some of the bishops against the wishes of their brethren, and of all wise and true patriots.* These representations were circulated in publications adapted to the capacities of those for whom they were designed, and were urged in private conferences amongst all classes of the community; and there resulted from them that ardent zeal which, proceeding upon the idea that it was essential to the interests of religion to resist the innovations, pressed conscience into the service of revolt, thus fostering a spirit which punishment is fitted rather to strengthen than to eradicate.† The leaders of the presbyterians artfully employed it to promote their views, and, even so early as the month of April, some of them came to Edinburgh to con- April.

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* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 4. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 19. Clarendon's Hist. Vol. I. p. 86, 87.

† Baillie, as last quoted.

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sult with the nobles in whom they confided respecting the scheme which it would be wise to adopt. It seems to have been decided to leave to popular ebullition the first expression of antipathy; and after their cause had, in consequence of this, become the cause of the people, to commence the system of representation and remonstrance, to which they trusted for success. *

Causes of the resolution to introduce the liturgy.

When we consider how prudently Spottiswoode and his friends had hitherto acted, it, at first sight, appears astonishing that they did not persist in recommending the caution which they must have seen to be so much required. This struck many even of the advocates for episcopacy, and they have not hesitated to ascribe it to a fatality or infatuation, which often, in critical times, precedes the ruin of those who have yielded to its influence.† The fact

July.

most certainly is, that the primate not only ceased to oppose the wishes of Laud, but even procured from court a positive order, that the liturgy should be introduced on the 23d July. There was, however, a cause for this unfortunate change of conduct; a cause, shewing how often public principle is sacrificed to private feeling. In execution of the powers given to the commission for tithes, Spottiswoode was preparing to fix the emoluments

* Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 20, 21. Crawford's life of Spottiswoode, in Lives of Officers of State, p. 181. Guthrie's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 227.

† Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 18.

of the clergy within his diocese, a step which deeply affected the interest of those to whom the teinds had been given in lease, whilst it materially promoted his own. Traquair, eager to thwart the primate in this plan, procured a suspension of the commission, and the archbishop, irritated at the interference, determined to repair to court, to exert his influence that the commission might be renewed. To render himself acceptable to the King and to Laud, he saw the importance of gratifying both, by being able to convey information that the liturgy had been renewed, and upon the arrival of the letters for that purpose, he caused an intimation to be made from the pulpits, that, on the succeeding Sunday, the book of prayer should be read.* Several of the ministers, who wished to ingratiate themselves with the court, enlarged upon the excellence of the book; all of them, with one exception, read the intimation, which was heard without any apparent signs of displeasure or disgust. It excited, however, through the week, much inquiry and much complaint. All were astonished, that, without any reason being assigned, the resolution should be so hastily taken, and every place was filled with declamations against the measure. Yet the council do not seem to have had the slightest apprehension of formidable resistance, for they made no preparation to repress disorder, believing that the

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* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 4, 5.

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prejudices of the people would be gradually removed.*

1637. July 23. Tumults upon occasion of reading the liturgy.

Upon the day which had been specified, immense numbers of the inhabitants of Edinburgh went to the church of St Giles, in which the chancellor, some of the lords of the council, and several of the bishops, had taken their seats. The utmost quietness prevailed, till the dean, having opened the liturgy, began to read, when the multitude, losing all respect for the place in which they were, and the solemn work in which they were engaged, raised such a clamour, that the prayers could not be heard. The bishop of Edinburgh, hoping to appease it, went into the pulpit, and entreated the people to reflect upon the sacredness of the house of God, and upon the duty which they owed to God and to their sovereign. This address rendered them more outrageous; stones, and whatever they could use for the purpose, were thrown at the dean, and the bishop himself narrowly escaped being wounded or killed by a stool, which was furiously aimed at him. The primate then called upon the magistrates to interfere, who, with much difficulty, by entreaties and by force, succeeded in restoring momentary order. The Dean resumed his ungracious office; but the women, or men in the dress of women, though they had been thrust from the church, renewed their activity; they exclaimed, with

* Large Declaration, p. 22, compared with Baillie, Vol. I. p. 4, 5. Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 33, 34.

the utmost vehemence, "A pope, a pope; Antichrist, pull him down, stone him." They knocked at the doors, broke the windows, and seemed resolved to proceed to the most dreadful excesses. Amidst this noise and consternation, the service terminated. When the bishops left the church, they were followed by the multitudes, who, in the most opprobrious language, charged them with bringing into the kingdom Popery and slavery. The bishop of Edinburgh, who was regarded with peculiar antipathy, was almost dragged from a staircase which he had ascended, and was, at length, rescued by the servants of the Earl of Wemyss. A meeting of council was held between sermons, at the house of the chancellor. The provost and magistrates attended; and such precautions were taken, that divine worship was, in the afternoon, much more quietly performed. No sooner, however, was it concluded, than the people recommenced their outrages; and having discovered that the Earl of Roxburgh had taken the bishop of Edinburgh into his carriage, they attacked it, endeavoured to tear it in pieces, and would probably have injured or sacrificed those who were in it, had not the attendants of Roxburgh, with their swords, compelled them to retire.

Similar scenes were exhibited in different parts of the city. Wherever the liturgy was attempted to be read, commotion immediately ensued; and

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the clergymen who officiated were forced to desist.*

1637. July. Remarks.

Such was the manner in which the liturgy was received by the populace in Edinburgh. Although it must be admitted that there was great imprudence on the part of the bishops, still the tumult shews that the people were warmly attached to the sentiments and practices of their earliest reformers, and that they conceived that the change from presbytery was calculated both to advance the cause of popery, and to subvert their political rights. Had there been no aversion to episcopacy, and had the bishops been revered as virtuous men and conscientious teachers of religion, any disturbance which might, upon the present occasion, have been raised, would have been of a very different nature from that, the particulars of which have been detailed. There might have been, in one or more churches, expressions of disapprobation; but the mass of the people would not have held the same language, and committed atrocities, from

* King's large Declaration, p. 23—25. Row's MSS. p. 307, 308. Kirtoun's MSS. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 145, 146. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 87, 88. Supplement to Spottiswoode's History, as quoted by Crawford in his Lives of Officers of State, p. 181, 182. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 81. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 19, 20. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 5. Collier, Vol. II. p. 777. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 878. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 27. It is interesting to compare the accounts given by writers of different principles.

which men not destitute of religious impressions would naturally have shrunk, had they not been persuaded that they were engaged in the cause of religion, and were contributing to purify those temples, which apparently they profaned.

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CHAPTER FOURTEENTH.

Consequences of the Tumult....Several of the Ministers approve of the Rioters....First Supplication against the Liturgy....New Tumults....King's Reply to the Supplication....Representations to the Sovereign....Anxiety about the effect of them....Proclamations issued by the Council....The discontented Party deliberate how to act....Distracted state of the Metropolis....Weakness of the Government....Measures adopted by the enemies of the Liturgy....Strong Petition....Effect of it upon the Policy of the Court....Further Proceedings of the Disaffected....Representation by the Earl of Traquair.... Bold conduct of the Presbyterians....A Proclamation by the King protested against at Stirling....Remarks upon this step....Tables permanently erected....The Covenant....Observations upon it....It is subscribed by vast numbers....Coldly received in some parts of the Kingdom.

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1637. Consequences of the tumult.

In the excesses which had taken place upon the introduction of the liturgy, the multitude alone seemed to have any concern. The different acts of violence were perpetrated by women of the lowest rank, or by men of the same station, disguised in female apparel, and no person of respectability openly countenanced their proceedings, or even hesitated to condemn them. The bishops, intimida-

ted by fury so immediately directed against themselves, instantly dispatched to London an account of what had happened; whilst the council, displeased that this account had not been submitted to them, sent, in a few days after, a representation, in which they gave it as their opinion, that nothing really formidable had occurred, and insinuated that blame was to be attached to the prelates for the precipitancy with which they had acted. It soon, however, became apparent, that whatever was thought of the mode of opposition, the cause of the populace was warmly espoused by all descriptions of the community; for the council found, that even the nobles and gentlemen, who might have been expected cordially to unite in repressing insurrection, shewed no eagerness to take any part; and although the magistrates of Edinburgh expressed the deepest regret for the attack which had been made upon the supporters of the service-book, they proceeded with much dilatoriness, and some reluctance, in discovering those who had been guilty. It is certain that all attempt to press the liturgy was suspended, till positive instructions upon the subject should be received from the King. *

Several of the ministers approve of the rioters.

The zealous Presbyterian ministers, who, from

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 88. Large Declaration, p. 25, 26. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 6. Collier, Vol. II. p. 777. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 388, and 390. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 146. Sanderson's Hist. of Charles I. p. 222.

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the marked abhorrence at episcopacy, anticipated the restoration of their favourite form of ecclesiastical polity, did not hesitate, both in private and from their pulpits, to applaud those who had commenced so glorious a work, and the effect of their influence was soon discernible. Multitudes of the higher classes of females declared their abhorrence of the liturgy; their sentiments were soon embraced by their husbands and children; the reserve which was at first maintained was thrown aside; and so generally was antipathy against the bishops disseminated, that they trembled for their personal safety. Most of them retired to their dioceses, to avoid the fury of the multitude, and to endeavour to procure the co-operation of the ministers, whom they considered as bound by oath to submit to what they should require. *

First supplication against the liturgy.

When intelligence of what had happened reached London, it was determined to make no concessions; a peremptory order was sent to enforce the liturgy, and the council were reproved for having omitted to do so. This resolution was suggested by Laud, and the few persons with whom the King consulted respecting Scotland; for it is remarkable, that, previous to the troubles which now commenced in that kingdom, nothing relating to it was discussed in the privy-council of England, but all

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 88, 89. Large Declaration, p. 31. Crawford's Lives, p. 182.

was referred to a select number of Scotchmen, in whom his Majesty confided. *

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Before the arrival of the letter, conveying the determination of the court, several of the bishops had taken legal steps to enforce the mandate, that each parish should be furnished with two copies of the liturgy. As to this matter, the primate chiefly confined himself to exhortation, but he selected a few ministers who refused to conform, with the intention of punishing them for disobedience. †

The desire of being freed from what they considered as inconsistent with conscience, suggested to some of the clergy the idea of presenting a supplication to the council, praying that they might not be required to renounce their principles; and Henderson, one of those who had been charged by the prelate, petitioned that the proceedings against him and his brethren should be suspended. This eminent man acted afterwards a most conspicuous part in the troubles of Scotland. He had, in early life, warmly espoused episcopal principles; but having been converted by a sermon which he heard from Bruce, he renounced his first opinions, and steadily adhered to the Presbyterians. He was possessed of distinguished talents, of considerable moderation, and of a firmness of mind which emi-

Aug. 23.

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 88. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 147. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 6. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 32.

† Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 6.

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nently qualified him for the exertions which he made to secure the civil and religious privileges of his countrymen.* In the petition which he presented, he urged that the service-book had not been warranted by a General Assembly, or by any act of parliament; that the liberties of the Scotish church, and the form of worship received at the Reformation, and universally practised, were still sanctioned by the legislature, and by the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory; that the church of Scotland was free and independent, and that therefore her own pastors were the proper judges of what was for her benefit; that some of the ceremonies enjoined by the book, had, from their inconsistency with the established worship, and their symbolizing with the church of Rome, occasioned great divisions; and that the people, from having been otherwise taught, were unwilling to receive the new book, till they were convinced of its propriety.†

The council shewed the utmost anxiety to comply, as far as possible, with the request laid before them. All the laity were averse to proceed to extremities, and even Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, adopted the same sentiment. The result was, that, for the remuneration of the King's printer, it was ordained that the two copies should be purchased,

* Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, in life of Robert Bruce. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 21.

† Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 21. Baillie's Letters, &c. Vol I. p. 7. Collier, Vol. II. Neal's Hist. of Puritans, Vol. II. p. 301, and 377. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 394.

without, however, any obligation to use them; and the order for reading the liturgy was suspended till new instructions were received from the King, which it was expected would arrive by the twentieth of September. * 1637.

New tumults.

The avocations of harvest rendering it inconvenient for those who resided in the country to repair to Edinburgh, there was in that city, for some weeks, the utmost tranquillity; but enmity to the liturgy was widely diffused through the kingdom. Annan, a minister, having, by order of the Archbishop of Glasgow, preached at the commencement of a synod, with much ingenuity and moderation, defended the service-book. His sermon, however, was heard with indignation, and having in the evening been attacked by great numbers of enraged women, his life was with difficulty saved. † Aug.

King's reply to the supplication.

When the time at which the answer of the King had been promised approached, multitudes from all parts of the country, hoping that it would be favourable, but firmly attached to their own views, repaired to the metropolis; and no fewer than sixty-eight supplications against the liturgy were carried by the principal men of the kingdom, to be

* Compare Baillie's Letters, p. 7, with Collier, Vol. II. p. 778. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 21, 22. Guthrie's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 229.

† Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 7, 8. MS. Collections from 1589, to 1641, quoted by Wodrow in Vol. III. of his MSS. under life of William Annand, p. 5, 6.

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presented to the council. * The King's answer was harsh snd decided. Partly misled by a letter from the magistrates of Edinburgh, in which they had declared to the Archbishop of Canterbury their zeal for introducing the liturgy, and hastily irritated at what he detested as sedition or rebellion, after expressing his confidence in the affections of his people, and blaming the coldness and timidity of his council, and of the magistrates, he peremptorily commanded that every bishop should order the book to be read in his diocese, and that no burgh should choose a magistrate who did not conform. He concluded by declining the request which the council had made, that he should send for some of their number to lay before him the state of Scotland. †

Decided as was this reply, it did not intimidate the discontented. The Earls of Sutherland and Wemyss, in name of the nobility, barons, ministers, and representatives of boroughs, presented what was termed a common supplication, praying, that the matter at issue should again be referred to the King, before the liturgy was enforced. The council did not venture to disregard what, in fact, amounted to a command upon which almost the

Representations to the Sovereign.

* Large Declaration, p. 32. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 9. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 27.

† Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 9, and 15. Large Declaration, p. 28, 29. Balfour's MSS. quoted by Guthrie in his History of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 230.

whole nation would insist; and as the Duke of Lennox, who had brought the King's letter, expressed his astonishment at what he saw, and assured the petitioners that his Majesty had received erroneous information, it was resolved to write to the sovereign; and, after lamenting the harsh construction which he had put upon the proceedings of his servants, to assure him of their zeal, and to solicit precise instructions how they should act. Lennox was, at the same time, earnestly requested to do what lay in his power to restore harmony to the kingdom.* CHAP XIV. 1637.

Hitherto the magistrates of Edinburgh had laboured to promote the introduction of the liturgy, and Laud had given them thanks for their firmness.† This conduct exasperated the inhabitants, who violently intruded into the council-chamber, and would not remove till they had been assured that they should not be compelled to submit to the service-book; and that the magistrates would unite with the other petitioners in a supplication against it. Thus, probably without reluctance, led to alter their measures, they judged it necessary to send an explanation to Laud. They informed him, that, since they last wrote, there had been such a con- Sept. 11. Sept. 26.

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 9, 10, and 15, 16. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 23. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 183.

† Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 150, where a letter of Laud to Traquair is inserted.

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course from all parts of the kingdom, and such things had been suggested to their poor ignorant people, that they had been diverted from their former resolutions, and they themselves had been forced to petition the lords of the council to continue them in the same state as they had done the rest of the kingdom. *

From this period till the termination of harvest, although there was no tumultuous assemblage, the state of public opinion became daily more hostile to the designs of the sovereign and of his ministers. Most men were persuaded that, if they did not remain steady, popery would be introduced; they who supported the plans of the court were execrated, and marked out for insult or destruction, whilst the great majority of the nobles and landed-proprietors, partly from religious, and partly from interested considerations, supported the multitude, and avowed their intention of sending commissioners to London, to state to the King the grievances of which they complained. †

Anxiety about the effect of the representations to the King.

Intimation was given to the town of Edinburgh, that an answer to their supplication would be returned on the 18th of October, and this having been

Oct. 17.

* Baillie, Vol. I. p. 10 and 16. Large Declaration, p. 29 and 32. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 400.

† Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 10, 11. This writer says, "I think our people possessed with a bloody devil." Guthrie's Memoirs p. 23, 24.

industriously circulated, immense numbers from all parts of the kingdom flocked to the metropolis, believing that this answer would shew what they had to expect from the King. The members of the privy-council, astonished and alarmed at so formidable a concourse, issued three proclamations, in the vain hope of preserving tranquillity. By the first it was announced, that for divers weighty reasons, his Majesty had given direction, that on the approaching council-day nothing should be treated relating to the church; and all strangers, who had not particular reasons for remaining, were ordered, within twenty-four hours, to leave Edinburgh. By the second, the council and session were removed from the metropolis, first to Linlithgow, and afterwards to Dundee; and, by the last, a book, entitled, "A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland," which had been extensively circulated, and had made a deep impression, was called in, and punishment denounced against those who, after the intimation, should have it in their possession.*

Proclamations issued by the council. October.

These proclamations led to a more decided expression of the designs of the discontented party than would else, at this time, have probably taken place. The commissioners from the different parishes having given to the clerk of council the su-

The discontented party deliberate how to act.

* Large Declaration, p. 33, 34. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 400—404. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 16—18. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 27.

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plications with which they had been entrusted, assembled to deliberate upon the steps now to be adopted. The noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers, met in three different bodies, but they united in passing a strong declaration against the obnoxious books, and in appointing it to be presented to the council. They agreed in condemning the matter of the books, and the mode of imposing them; and whilst they were occupied in framing their complaint, they received information that the act, commanding them to leave Edinburgh, had, with the usual forms, been made public. Hazardous as were the consequences, they determined to resist, and unequivocally to declare their enmity to the bishops, to whom the proclamation was ascribed. To prevent any division upon a matter so delicate, the general intention only was announced, whilst Lord Balmerino and Henderson prepared one paper, Lord Loudon and Dick another. The nobles having approved of one of these, it was, after some slight objections, sanctioned by the other classes; was delivered to the clerk of council; and was industriously circulated through the kingdom, that all who were averse to the innovations might subscribe it, and thus pledge themselves to the measures which their bold and able leaders wished them to pursue.*

* Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 18, 19, compared with Bishop Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 26.

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1637. Distracted state of the metropolis.

Whilst the zealous supporters of the popular faction were thus organizing their schemes, the metropolis presented scenes of the most disgraceful violence and insubordination. The inhabitants, ir ritated at the removal of the Court of Session, and of the privy-council, suspecting that this step was intended to pave the way for the imposition of the liturgy, and, persuaded that the chief magistrate was devoted to the court, proceeded to the council-chamber, in which the magistrates had assembled, and outrageously demanded that they should join in a petition against the service, and restore to the exercise of their functions two ministers and a reader who had been suspended. Resistance to men who threatened all who opposed them with instant destruction, was discerned to be fruitless. The magistrates endeavoured to sooth the populace,—they made the concessions which were demanded, and publicly announced what they had done. The example which had been thus set in Edinburgh was, with the exception of Aberdeen, universally followed, and the triumph of the cause was greatly facilitated. *

18th Oct.

But the fury of the multitude did not stop here. The Bishop of Galloway, who, from being suspected of secret attachment to Popery, was peculiarly

* Baillie, Vol. I. p. 20. Large Declaration. p. 35, 36. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 400—405. The volume is here erroneously paged. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 25.

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obnoxious, was, in passing through the streets, attacked,—execrations were poured out against him, —and he was, with much difficulty, conveyed in safety to the place in which the privy-council assembled. When intelligence of this outrage was carried to the officers of state, the Earls of Traquair and Wigton, with some followers, went to secure the prelate. Their appearance, however, was so far from intimidating the mob, that they found themselves in as great danger as the bishop whom they had hoped to deliver. In this mortifying situation they dispatched a request to the magistrates that they would interpose their authority in dispersing the people. The magistrates were at this moment under restraint, and when this was known, Traquair succeeded in getting access to them; but finding that by concession they had quieted the populace, he was anxious to return to the bishop till tranquillity should be restored. He was, however, no sooner recognized than he was insulted; his ears were assailed by the alarming exclamations,—"God defend those that defend God's cause; God confound the service-book, and all the maintainers of it;" his cloak and staff were torn from him, and he saved himself by promising that the wishes of the people should be immediately communicated to the King. He was then carried by the crowd to the council-house; but the danger still appearing formidable, the persons to whom the powers of government were committed were compelled to im-

Weakness of the government.

plore the protection of the noblemen who espoused the cause of the populace. This was cheerfully granted. The people, at the command of their leaders, ceased to insult the objects of their antipathy, and the popular lords in triumph escorted the men who should have been able to check the turbulence by which they were dismayed. The discontented thus saw that they had every reason to anticipate success, and that however they might, out of decency, use the language of respect and submission to the ministers of the sovereign, they had nothing to fear from the vigour or the wisdom of their administration. * 1637.

Mortifying as were the events which had taken place, and strongly as they were calculated to evince the weakness of government, the members of the privy-council did not learn from them the caution which it would have been wise to observe; for in the afternoon they imprudently issued a proclamation, in which they prohibited, under the highest pain of law, all assembling of people in the streets, and all private meetings tending to faction and tumult;—measures in themselves most prudent, but which those who announced them must have been sensible that they were unable to execute. †

* Large Declaration, p. 34—38, compared with Baillie, Vol. I. p. 20. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 24, 25. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 32. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 401.

† Large Declaration, p. 38.

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1637. Measures adopted by the enemies of the liturgy.

The enemies to innovation resolved to avail themselves of the advantage which they had gained, and they petitioned that a council should be held for receiving the petition which they were desirous to present. The council accordingly met, and made some concessions, but declined reading the supplication, because they were prohibited by the King from doing any thing at that time respecting the church; adding, however, that when the prohibition was removed they should willingly attend to it, and give an answer to what it contained. * With this intimation the lords were satisfied, and, in conformity to it, they soon again drew the attention of the council to their petition, which they entitled, "The Petition of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministry, and Burgesses, against the Service-Book and Book of Canons." † It was accompanied by another petition, addressed to the lord-chancellor, and stated to be in the name of all the men, women, children, and servants, of Edinburgh. The intention of this strange title was to shew the popular aversion to the innovations; but the petition of the nobility, and of those who acted with them, may be considered as unfolding the views of the party, and the insertion of the most material parts of it is necessary for throwing light upon the revolution which was accomplished. After the usual preamble

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 21.

† Large Declaration, p. 41, compared with Baillie, Vol. I. p. 19.

1637. Strong petition.

it thus proceeds: "That whereas we were, in humble and quiet manner, attending a gracious answer of our former supplications against the Service-Book imposed upon us, and ready to shew the great inconveniences which, upon the introduction thereof, must ensue, we are, without any known desert, far by our expectation, surprised and charged, by public proclamation, to depart out of the town within twenty-four hours thereafter, under pain of rebellion; by which peremptory and unusual charge, our fears of a more severe and strict course of proceeding are augmented, and course of our supplication interrupted; wherefore we are constrained, out of the deep grief of our hearts, humbly to remonstrate, that, whereas the archbishops and bishops of this realm, being intrusted by his Majesty with the government of the affairs of the church of Scotland, have drawn up and set forth, and enjoined upon the subjects two books, in the one whereof, called the Book of Common-prayer, not only are sown the seeds of divers superstitions, idolatry, and false doctrine, contrary to the true religion established within this realm by divers acts of parliament, but also the Service-Book of England is abused, especially in the matter of communion, by additions, subtractions, interchanging of words and sentences, falsifying of titles and misplacing of collects, to the disadvantage of Reformation, as the Romish mass is, in the more substantial points, made up therein, quite contrary unto, and for reversing the gracious

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intention of the blessed reformers of religion in England. In the other book, called, Canons and Constitutions for the Government of the Church of Scotland, they have ordained, that whosoever shall affirm that the form of worship inserted in the Book of Common-Prayer, doth contain any thing repugnant to the Scriptures, shall be excommunicated, and not be restored but by the bishop of the place, or the archbishop of the province; besides one hundred canons more, many of them tending to the reviving and fostering of abolished superstitions and errors, and to the overthrow of our church-discipline established by acts of parliament, opening a door for what farther invention of religion they please to make, and stopping the way which law before did allow unto us for suppressing of error and superstition, and ordaining, that where, in any of the canons, there is no penalty expressly set down, the punishment shall be arbitrary, as the bishop thinks fittest: all which canons were never seen or allowed in any General Assembly, but are imposed contrary to order of law for establishing constitutions ecclesiastical. Unto which two books the foresaid prelates have, under trust, procured his Majesty's hand and letters-patent, for pressing the same upon his loyal subjects, and have begun to urge their acceptance, not only by injunctions given in provincial assemblies, but also by open proclamation and charge of horning, whereby we are driven in such straits as we must either suffer the

ruin of our estates and fortunes, or else, by breach of our covenant with God, and forsaking the way of true religion, fall under the wrath of God, which unto us is more grievous than death; wherefore, we being persuaded that these their proceedings are contrary to our gracious Sovereign's pious intention, who, out of his zeal and princely care of the preservation of true religion established in this, his ancient kingdom, hath ratified the same in his highness's parliament 1633, and so his Majesty to be highly wronged by the said prelates, who have so far abused their credit with so good a king, as thus to ensnare his subjects, rend our church, undermine religion in doctrine, sacraments, and discipline, move discontent between the King and his subjects, and discord between subject and subject, contrary to several acts of parliament, we, out of bound duty to God, our King, and native country, complain of the present prelates, humbly craving that this matter may be put to trial, and that they be not suffered to sit any more as judges until the cause be tried and decided according to justice. And if this shall seem to you to be a matter of higher importance than you will condescend unto before his Majesty be acquainted therewith, then we humbly supplicate that this our grievance and complaint may be fully represented to his Majesty, that, from the influence of his gracious sovereignty and justice, these wrongs may be redressed, and we have the happiness to

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enjoy the religion as it hath been reformed in this land." *

1637. Effect of the petition upon the policy of the court.

Upon many of the members of the privy-council the petition produced a strong impression, whilst the disordered state of the kingdom evinced the necessity of withholding nothing from the King which might guide him to the measures which were imperiously required. They accordingly transmitted the supplication, probably by the Earl of Roxburgh, who went to London to give a just account of the condition of Scotland. †

It may perhaps admit of a doubt, whether the concession of all which was now required would, even at this early period, have restored harmony, and prevented any new attempts against the hierarchy. ‡ This much, however, the King might have discerned, that the utmost caution was requisite, and that he had to contend, not against a momentary ebullition of popular zeal, but against a calm deliberate purpose of the most considerable men in the kingdom. Yet, with melancholy infatuation, he paid little or no attention to the accurate information which had been anxiously communicated to him, but, convinced of the energy of the prerogative, he resolved to adhere to his original intentions. He dispatched Roxburgh to Scotland with

Dec.

* Large Declaration, p. 42—44. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II p. 405—408.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 32.

‡ Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 31, 32.

instructions little adapted to the critical state of that kingdom. Upon his arrival one proclamation was issued, appointing the council to meet weekly at Dalkeith, and the Court of Session, after the beginning of February, to hold its sessions at Stirling; and another, in which his Majesty, after declaring that he had seen the supplications against the Service-Book, attributed his delay in answering them to the outrages which had taken place in Edinburgh. To remove, however, the apprehensions of popery, which had been industriously strengthened, he assured his people of his abhorrence of that religion, and of his zeal for the advancement of true religion, as it was presently professed within his ancient kingdom, solemnly affirming that he had no intention to do any thing against the laws of Scotland. * 1637.

When this proclamation was published, the presbyterians saw that it was necessary to carry on their schemes. Whilst with that respect for the sovereign which they long professed to entertain, they affected to receive his answer with gratitude, and to put upon it a favourable interpretation, they were sensible that it really granted nothing which should supersede their own exertions. † They according- Farther proceedings of the disaffected.

* Large Declaration, p. 45, 46. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 25, 26. Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 46. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in Life of Spottiswoode, p. 152. Rushworth's Collections, Vol II. p. 230.

† Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 26. compared with Rapin, Vol. II. p. 302. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 32.

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1637. 22d Dec.

ly appointed a deputation to attend the council; and the Earl of Loudon, who had been requested to speak in name of the whole, after presenting anew the former supplications, and insisting that the bishops should no longer sit in council when affairs respecting religion were under discussion, inveighed with the utmost vehemence against Popery, the order of bishops, and the late innovations, concluding with these pointed observations relating to the prelates: "We neither crave their blood, nor harm to their persons, but that the abuses and wrongs done by them may be truly represented to his Majesty, that after due trial such an order might be taken that the evils might be remedied, and that their power might be restrained." *

The bishops having in vain attempted to elude the vehemence of the petitioners, and finding that little regard was paid, even in the council, to their claims and privileges, had a few days before this withdrawn from that assembly; a circumstance strikingly calculated to confirm the opposition to them which had been so vigorously commenced. †

Although the various supplications presented by Loudon really aimed at the subversion of the constitution,—although they proceeded from men who,

* Baillie, Vol. I. p 28, 29. He says that Loudon's speech was delivered upon the 22d. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 27. Edinburgh Collections quoted by Wodrow, Vol. III. in life of Spottiswoode, p. 152.

† Baillie, Vol. I. p. 29. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. in life of Spottiswoode, p. 152.

though high in rank and in influence, did not form a legal body,—far from firmly declaring that the proceedings were unwarrantable, and vindicating the rights of their ecclesiastical associates, Hope, Traquair, and Sir James Hamilton the justice-clerk, shewed much partiality to the petitioners, and the clerk of register alone spoke with zeal in defence of the bishops. The result was, that the council received the different papers, promised to transmit them to the King, assured Loudon and his party that their cause should receive no prejudice till an answer was returned, and even consulted with the faction upon the mode of submitting to his Majesty what was to be laid before him. The Earl of Traquair and the Earl of Roxburgh, the privy-seal, were both willing to go to London; but it was at length determined to leave to the sovereign the choice of the person from whom he was to get a report of the state of affairs. Spottiswoode the president, who, from being son of the primate, was very obnoxious to the discontented, went at this time to court, upon pretence of making some arrangements respecting his father's demission of the office of chancellor; but the King, not relying upon him, summoned the Earl of Traquair, in whom he confided. *

* Baillie, Vol. I. p. 28—31. Edinburgh MS. Collections, quoted by Wodrow in Vol. III. of his MSS. under life of Spottiswoode, p. 152, 153. Large Declaration, p. 47. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 27, 28. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 33.

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1687. Traquair's representation. Jan.

Traquair did not attempt to disguise the evil which afflicted Scotland, or to conceal the causes from which these evils originated. He represented the turbulent spirit with which government had to struggle, ascribed it to the errors of the bishops and to the introduction of the lately authorized books, and gave it as his opinion, that nothing could regain the loyal affections of the people, if these books were not at the present juncture laid aside, and fresh assurances circulated of the King's aversion to Popery and zeal for the protestant religion.* Plain as these truths were, the views of the court remained unchanged; and Traquair was even suspected of secretly fomenting the disturbances which he sought to compose.† The King seems to have been persuaded that the first acts of outrage were the accidental excesses of enthusiasm; that the dread of punishment still kept together those who had been guilty of them; and that if this dread were removed, tranquillity would be restored. Under these impressions he determined, before making any further concessions, to proclaim his resolution to pardon the acts of violence which had been perpetrated, to vindicate the innovations, and to prohibit all tumultuous assemblies; promising, however, that he would listen to such supplications from

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 33.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 33. Sanderson's Hist. p. 226, compared with Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 87.

his people as were conveyed in language which it was proper for subjects to use to their sovereign. *

1638. Bold conduct of the presbyterians. 15th Feb.

Traquair returned to Scotland with instructions, the inefficacy of which he must have appreciated; and when the leaders of the presbyterians, deeply solicitous about the issue of his mission, requested that he would relieve their anxiety, he evaded their request, and even solemnly assured them that he had received no directions from the King respecting the supplications. He adopted this insincere policy from the vain hope that if he could, without tumult, actually publish his Majesty's intentions, many would shrink from incurring the guilt of rebellion by directly opposing their sovereign; and he resolved to make the proclamation of the royal intentions at Stirling, to which town the court of session had been translated. The most active of the faction, however, obtained, the day after the first conference, information of what was to take place, and they sent to Traquair to ascertain what was the fact, or to express the sorrow which the intelligence had excited. Sheltering himself under the official plea that he could not communicate to them what he was enjoined to lay before the council, he maintained the most imprudent reserve, merely insinuating, that such meetings as had been lately held were to be prohibited. The resistance which was made to

* Large Declaration, p. 48—50. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 33, 33, and 38, 39. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 34.

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1638. this suggestion plainly shewed him what were the intentions of those with whom he conversed; and these intentions were soon carried into execution. They stated to such of the privy-council as they believed to be friendly to them, the grounds of their complaint; and they determined to be at Stirling, there to renew what they termed their declinature of the bishops, and to protest if it should not be received. When the treasurer and the privy-seal in-

19th Feb. timated to them the probability that, after such conduct, the King would not receive any new supplication, they intrepidly answered, that they should do their duty, and commit the event to God Almighty, who was sufficiently able to protect his own cause, and their just proceedings. *

The King's proclamation protested against at Stirling.

Traquair was not deterred by what had passed from obeying his instructions; but he judged it prudent to go very early on the morning of the nineteenth to Stirling, that he might, before the arrival of those to whom it was obnoxious, publish the proclamation. The presbyterians, however, were on their guard; and having got notice that Traquair and Roxburgh had left Edinburgh, Lord Lindsay and Hume hastened to Stirling, and reached it in time to hear the proclamation, and to take the decided step upon which they had resolved. † When the proclamation was finished, these lords, after a

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 32, and 38—42, compared with the short account given by Guthrie in his Memoirs, p. 28.

† Baillie, Vol. I. p. 38. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 28, 29.

preamble, in which the former proceedings of their party were detailed, declared, in name of the noblemen, barons, ministers and boroughs appointed to attend his Majesty's answer to their petitions and complaints, that out of their duty to God, to the King, and their native country, they were forced to protest in manner following: "1. That we may have immediate recourse to our sacred sovereign, to present our grievances, and in a legal way to prosecute the same before the ordinary competent judges, civil or ecclesiastical, without any offence offered by us or taken by the lords of the council. 2. That the archbishops and bishops, our parties complained upon, cannot be reputed lawful judges to sit in any judicatory in this kingdom, civil or ecclesiastical, upon any of the supplicants, till after lawful trial they judicially purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering to prove the same whensoever his sacred Majesty shall please to give us audience. 3. That no act or proclamation to follow thereupon, passed or to be passed, in council or out of council, in presence of the archbishops and bishops whom we have already declined to be our judges, shall in any way be prejudicial to us the supplicants, our persons, estates, lawful meetings, proceedings or pursuits. 4. That neither we, nor any whose heart the Lord moveth to join with us in these our supplications against the foresaid innovations, shall incur any danger in life or lands, or any political or ecclesiastical pains, for

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not observing such acts, books, canons, rites, judicatories and proclamations, introduced without or against the acts of General Assemblies, or acts of Parliament; but that it shall be lawful to us and them to use ourselves in matters of religion, of the external worship of God, and the policy of the church, according to the word of God, and laudable constitutions of the church and kingdom, conform to his Majesty's declaration of the ninth of December last. 5. Seeing by the legal and submissive way of our former supplications, all who take these innovations to heart have been kept calm, and carried themselves in a quiet manner, in hope of redress, we protest that, if any inconvenience shall happen to fall out, which we pray the Lord to prevent, upon the pressing of any of the foresaid innovations or evils, and upon your lordships' refusal to take order thereanent, the same be not imputed to us, who most humbly seek all things to be reformed in order. 6. We protest that these our requests, proceeding from conscience and a due respect to his Majesty's honour, do tend to no other end but to the preservation of the true reformed religion, the laws and liberties of this his Majesty's most ancient kingdom, and satisfaction of our most humble desires contained in our supplication and complaint, according to his Majesty's accustomed goodness and justice, from which we do certainly expect such remedy as may be expected from so gracious a King toward most loyal and dutiful sub-

jects, calling for redress of so pressing grievances, and praying to God that his Majesty may long and prosperously reign over us." * CHAP. XIV. 1638. Feb.

This protestation was repeated on two successive days, at Linlithgow and Edinburgh. †

It is impossible to read this singular document without perceiving that it indicates a spirit of resistance which all the efforts of the King might have been unable to eradicate. There is a striking similarity between its stile and sentiments, and those in the manifestoes of the lords of the congregation; indeed these were evidently the models after which the presbyterian faction faithfully copied. There was, however, an essential difference in the situation of the first reformers, and in that of their successors. The intrepid men who attacked the popish establishment, long contended only for toleration; and when this was denied, they were compelled to struggle for liberty, without which their consciences would have been shackled, their religion persecuted, and they themselves deprived of property, of honours, and of life. Infatuated as Charles was, he threatened his subjects with no such evils. In the ardour of party-zeal it was indeed strongly insinuated, that he was steadily prosecuting the design of restoring Popery, but there is Remarks.

* Large Declaration, p. 50—52. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 730—734. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 153.

† Baillie, Vol. I. p. 35 and 44.

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not the slightest evidence to support the insinuation. The amount of the religious calamities which the inhabitants of Scotland had to dread, was the continuance of episcopacy, or the attempt to continue it; but it surely may be doubted how far this was, at the commencement of the disturbances, a sufficient cause for actively resisting the sovereign. It is true that his measures for accomplishing his object were frequently inconsistent with the rights which, under every government, the people should assert; but much might have been done in a constitutional manner to secure the privileges which he wantonly or heedlessly invaded. Many of the clergy who joined in opposition to government had at this period no idea that episcopacy was subversive of Christianity; all of them had sworn obedience to the bishops in whose dioceses they ministered; and some of them expressly distinguished between episcopacy as it existed in the time of Knox's superintendents, and the episcopacy which now was opposed, affirming, that both indeed ought to be removed, but that the former ought not to be abjured. *

Tables permanently erected.

The presbyterians themselves seem to have considered the protest as the first step to the abjuration of the King's authority, for they now erected a pe-

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 132. The passage is a remarkable one, and shews that, even at the period to which it refers, the superintendent scheme was considered as allied to episcopacy.

culiar constitution of government, in which were vested the prerogatives of the sovereign.

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The tumults of the former year had led to an agreement that the supplications presented to the privy-council should be given by a deputation from thoso whose grievances they enumerated; and the advantage of this arrangement was sensibly felt. It is evident, however, that the council, in sanctioning the practice of the discontented acting by commissioners, had solely in view to prevent the disgraceful scenes of outrage, which all good men deplored, and did not conceive that they were extending the permission of the monarch to institutions totally subversive of his throne. The petitioners early saw the importance of giving permanence to a scheme which, for a temporary purpose, had been devised, and they formed what they called Tables, representing the different classes of persons who united in vindicating the privileges of the church, appointing one for the nobility, one for the gentlemen, one for the ministers, and another for the boroughs. At these tables, consisting of the most zealous or the most esteemed of the respective orders, all measures for defence and security were deliberately examined, and a general table, composed of representatives from the four subordinate tables, received suggestions from these tables, and finally decided upon what it was necessary to carry into execution.*

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 21, 23, 25, and 35.

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The members of this political body, guided by the most fervent zeal,—enjoying the full confidence of the great majority of the people,—venerated as the guardians of pure religion, and as the generous defenders of civil liberty, were implicitly obeyed; whilst the warnings of the council, though issued in the name, and sanctioned by the approbation of the Sovereign, were disregarded or despised. *

The Covenant.

The great object of the presbyterians was to preserve that enthusiasm or veneration for their cause which was so extensively disseminated. With admirable address they devised an expedient for this purpose, the success of which exceeded even their own most sanguine expectations. In a former part of this history it has been mentioned, that, to remove prevailing apprehensions of the restoration of popery, James instructed Craig to compose a confession of faith, in which all Popish errors should be abjured, and which would thus prove a test of the sound principles of those by whom it was subscribed. This confession he himself signed, and he then commanded it to be signed by all ranks of people. Some years after, it was, upon a petition of the

Large Declaration, p. 54. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 32 and 34. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 734. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 89. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 27. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 27. It is proper to observe, that the tables for the particular purpose of petitioning existed in the conclusion of the former year, but they did not assume the power of government till after the protest. It is necessary to attend to this in consulting the authorities just quoted.

* Large Declaration, p. 54. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 89.

General Assembly to the council, again subscribed, and there was then added to it a bond, or obligation for maintenance of the true religion, and of the King's person. * The tables resolved to renew, by their own authority, what had formerly excited the pious or patriotic zeal of the community, making such alterations in what was to be subscribed as tended to unite the majority of the kingdom in the cordial support of the bold measures which they saw that it would be necessary to adopt. It was at first urged, that the confession, in its original form, implied the rejection of the articles of Perth, and of the episcopal order, both of these being, by fair interpretation, comprehended under the hierarchy which was formally abjured; but, as several of the most respectable of the clergy considered this as at least doubtful, it was judged prudent to add to the bond for defence of the King's person, an obligation to defend each other against all persons whatsoever, and an explicit declaration of their sentiments with regard to the innovations, which they all contemplated with abhorrence. † Part of this remarkable addition, which gave a new complexion to what was held forth merely as the revival of a former confession, it is necessary here to insert:—"We, noblemen, gentlemen, burgesses, ministers, and commons,

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, under 1580 and 1590.

† Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 35. Calderwood's History, p. 96. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 32, 33. Large Declaration, p 70. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 152, 153.

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under subscribing, considering divers times before, and especially at this time, the danger of the true reformed religion, of the King's honour, and of the public peace of the kingdom, by the manifold innovations and evils generally contained, and particularly mentioned in our late supplications, do hereby profess, and before God, his angels, and the world, do solemnly declare, that, with our whole hearts, we agree and resolve, all the days of our lives, constantly to adhere unto and defend the true religion, forbearing the practice of all novations already introduced in the matters of the worship of God, or approbation of the corruptions of the public government of the church, or civil places and power of churchmen, till they be tried and allowed in free assemblies, and in parliaments; to labour, by all means lawful, to recover the purity and liberty of the gospel, as it was established and professed before the said novations: And because, after due examination, we plainly perceive, and undoubtedly believe, that the innovations and evils have no warrant of the word of God,—are contrary to the articles of the foresaid confessions,—to the intention and meaning of the blessed reformers of religion in this land, and do sensibly tend to the re-establishing of the Popish religion and tyranny, and to the subversion and ruin of the true reformed religion, and of our liberties, laws, and estates, we also declare that the foresaid confessions are to be interpreted, and ought to be understood of the foresaid novations

and evils, no less than if every one of them had been expressed in the foresaid confessions, and that we are obliged to detest and abhor them amongst other particular heads of papistrie abjured therein: And therefore, from the knowledge and conscience of our duty to God, to our King and country, without any worldly respect or inducement, so far as human infirmity will suffer, wishing a further measure of the grace of God for this effect, we promise and swear, by the great name of the Lord our God, to continue in the profession and obedience of the foresaid religion; that we shall defend the same, and resist all those contrary errors and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that power that God hath put in our hands, all the days of our life; and, in like manner, with the same heart, we declare, before God and men, that we have no intention or desire to attempt any thing that may turn to the dishonour of God, or to the diminution of the King's greatness or authority, but, on the contrary, we promise and swear that we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, stand to the defence of our dread Sovereign, his person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true religion, liberties, and laws, of the kingdom;—as also to the mutual defence and assistance, every one of us of another, in the same cause of maintaining the true religion, and his Majesty's authority, with our best counsel, our bodies, means, and whole power,

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against all sorts of persons whatsoever, so that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause, shall be taken as done to us all in general, and to every one of us in particular: And that we shall, neither directly nor indirectly, suffer ourselves to be divided or withdrawn from this blessed and loyal conjunction, nor shall cast in any let or impediment, that may stay or hinder any such resolution, as, by common consent, shall be found to conduce for so good ends; but, on the contrary, shall, by all lawful means, labour to further and promove the same: And if any such dangerous and divisive motion be made to us by word or writ, we, and every one of us, shall either suppress it, or, if need be, shall incontinent make the same known, that it may be timeously obviated. Neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combination, or what else our adversaries, from their craft and malice, would put on us, seeing what we do is so well warranted, and ariseth from an unfeigned desire to maintain the true worship of God, the majesty of our King, and the peace of the kingdom, for the common happiness of ourselves and our posterity." *

Observations upon the Covenant.

This bond places beyond a doubt the determination of those by whom it was framed to defy even the King himself in attaining the objects which it

* Large Declaration, p. 64—66. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 734—741.

was designed to secure. Yet Hope, his Majesty's advocate, did not hesitate to give it as his opinion, that it contained nothing inconsistent with the duty of subjects,—a fact strikingly evincing how much the spirit of faction can bewilder even the most vigorous minds. * The obligation was written and sanctioned,—not by parliament,—not by men acting in any official capacity,—but by individuals assuming the right of deciding upon the measures of their sovereign, and considering their private judgment as a sufficient warrant for despising his authority. It does not alter the case that the cause was really good,—it might have been quite the reverse; and therefore the vindication of the covenant must be rested, not upon far-fetched attempts to reconcile it with loyalty, but upon this great principle, that, when the ends for which all government should be instituted are defeated, the oppressed have a clear right to disregard customary forms, and to assert the privileges without which they would be condemned to the degradation and wretchedness of despotism. In applying the principle to any particular case, the circumstances must be scrupulously weighed, and there will, almost always, from variety of judgment, or diversity of political sentiments, be different opinions. In the present instance, the bishops, and they who were attached to episcopacy, contended, that the evils upon which the covenant-

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 48.

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ers dwelt were in a great measure imaginary, or might, without trampling on the prerogative, be removed; whilst the covenanters, and the great body of the nation, were firmly persuaded, that, without some mighty effort, the purity of religion would be corrupted, and the most grievous tyranny established. According to various feelings and principles, this subject will, probably at all times, continue to be viewed in opposite lights; and, instead of declaiming upon the patriotism of the enemies to innovation, or on the desire of their opponents to bend their countrymen under the sceptre of the monarch, the judgment upon this interesting event in Scotish history should be formed by calmly investigating the question, whether there existed danger which nothing less than the resolution to sign the Covenant and the bond annexed to it would have averted.

Covenant subscribed by vast numbers. March 1.

The Covenant was, notwithstanding the essential alteration in it which has been noticed, still denominated by its former title,—a piece of disingenuity which was not necessary to support the cause, and which afforded its enemies some ground for questioning the integrity of the zealous men by whom it was espoused. * It was at length submitted for the approbation or subscription of the people, and

* Large Declaration, p. 55 and 69, 70. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 154. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 89. In the account of this historian there is much inaccuracy, but he dwells upon the charge against the covenanters to which I have alluded.

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the first trial was made in the metropolis. In the church of the Grey Friars an immense multitude assembled. The confession or covenant having been read, the Earl of Loudon, in an impressive oration, dwelt upon its vast importance as a bond of union, whilst Henderson, with all the fervour of zeal, and all the effect of popular eloquence, prayed to heaven for a blessing. The feelings of the people were excited,—they looked on the covenant as the instrument of their deliverance, —with joyful exclamations they hastened to share in the honour of attaching to it their names; and the spirit thus roused was not without reason considered as affording a pledge that the glorious work of civil and religious liberty would be crowned with success. At this interesting moment, the Archbishop of St Andrews, hearing of the ebullition of popular ardour, was filled with despair, and exclaimed, "Now all that we have been doing these thirty years past is at once thrown down." In most parts of the kingdom, with the same religious solemnities as had been practised in Edinburgh, the people emulated the piety or the patriotism of the capital,—hailed, with the warmest expressions of delight, the bearers of the covenant, and needed no exhortation to induce them to subscribe. The hearts of the inhabitants of Scotland were thus united in defence of the party which had resisted innovation; that party saw, and appreciated its strength, and soon followed a line of policy which

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kindled the flame of civil dissension, and hastened the events which terminated in the melancholy fate of the deluded, but unfortunate monarch.*

Coldly received in some parts of the kingdom.

Some exceptions, however, to the pervading enthusiasm for the covenant mortified its adherents, whilst they excited their astonishment, and roused their indignation, In Glasgow, several of the ministers shewed no solicitude to subscribe, and even disapproved of the zeal of their brethren. At St Andrews, through the influence of the primate or of the university, the inhabitants displayed no earnestness; whilst, in Aberdeen, the covenant was resisted, and much discussion upon its merits took place. The first embassy to this city proved unsuccessful, and when the covenanters returned to the charge, and gave a commission to Henderson and Dick to unite with Cant, one of their few partizans in the north, although they did procure many subscriptions, they were not admitted into the churches, and they found that they had to contend with the ingenuity of several respectable members of the university and of the church. These divines asked, by what authority they were required to sign the covenant, as the persons who called upon them to do so were not authorized by his Majesty, the

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 35—37. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 33. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 30. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 741. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 153, 154. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 27. Skinner's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 317, 318. Large Declaration, p. 75, 76.

Lords of the council, or any national assembly? they complained that the covenant, as now urged, was substantially different from the confession of 1580 and 1581; they maintained, that subscription to it, in its new form, was contrary to their duty of allegiance; and they stated other difficulties, which then, in the heat of faction, were branded as trifling or fallacious, but which, when coolly examined, are seen to reflect much credit upon the judgment and the moderation of those with whom they originated. Henderson, with his usual ability, replied, but his associates did not trust solely to his arguments; for the Earl of Montrose, who afterwards declared for the King, and, perhaps, injured him as a friend as much as he had done when he was an enemy, compelled those who were refractory to make a common cause with their brethren. This slight resistance was of much use to the covenanters. It afforded them a pretence for expatiating upon the dangers with which they were surrounded, and for casting out insinuations against the schemes and promises of government; and, by suppressing it, the faction acquired that decided ascendancy, the effects of which are now to be traced.*

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 45—47, and 72, 73. Large Declaration, p. 72 and 75. General Demands of the Doctors and Ministers of Aberdeen, concerning the late Covenant in Scotland; together with the Answers and Duplies &c. Published at Aberdeen, Anno, 1663. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 32, 34. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 68. Spalding's History of the Troubles in Scotland, Vol. I. p. 68—73, published at Aberdeen, 1792.

CHAPTER FIFTEENTH.

Measures of the Privy-Council in consequence of the Protestation....Determination of the King....Marquis of Hamilton appointed his Commissioner... Instructions given to him....Covenanters suspect the designs of the Court ...Hamilton's arrival in Scotland....Alarming incident....His reception....He comes to Edinburgh ...His negociations with the Covenanters....His correspondence with the King....Instability of the Council....The Marquis goes to Court....His advice to the King, and the result of it....Conduct of the Covenanters during his absence....He returns to Scotland... Difference of sentiment amongst the Covenanters overruled....Resolution of the Commissioner to return to London.. .His plans.... Measures of the Covenanters....Prudence of the Commissioner....Lords of the Covenant still dissatisfied.... Various acts of Concession published.. .King's Covenant subscribed by numbers.. .Activity of the Covenanters.... Their proceedings against the Bishops....Difficulties of the Commissioner....Conduct of the Bishops....Views of the parties....General Assembly at Glasgow... Remarks upon the Revolution through it accomplished... Subsidiary regulations of the Assembly, throwing light upon the character of the times ...State of the Church....Conclusion of the Assembly....The Marquis of Hamilton returns to London.

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THE decided opposition to the King, which the protest against his proclamation implied; the agitated state of the public mind, and the zeal with

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which all classes anticipated the renewed subscription of the covenant, rendered formidable by the bond which was subjoined to it, called upon the officers of the crown to take the situation of the kingdom into serious consideration. A council accordingly was, with the concurrence of the chancellor and the other prelates, summoned to be held at Stirling on the 1st of March; and although, with the exception of the Bishop of Brechin, who soon withdrew, none of them were present, it was esteemed requisite that there should be no delay in conveying to his Majesty information which might save his throne. The whole proceedings of the council, previous to this period, are marked by the most suspicious imbecility. It has been affirmed, that, had even a small force been raised at the comencement of the troubles, the subsequent scenes of violence and outrage might have been prevented; and it is certainly strange that it did not occur to make the trial.* The truth is, that the council was divided, and that many of the members were partial to the enemies of innovation. Lord Lorn, afterwards distinguished by the part which he acted against the crown, had, by Spottiswoode's exaltation, been disappointed of the dignified office of chancellor; he had thus been prejudiced against episcopacy; and although he still continued to act as a privy-counsellor, he had no wish to strengthen

Measures of the council. March 1.

* Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 33, 34.

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the church as it was now constituted, or to defeat the designs of the enemies of government, which there can be little doubt that he secretly approved; whilst Hope, the King's advocate, who, from his official situation, had great influence, instead of assisting those who administered the government, regulated the proceedings of the covenanters, which he did not scruple to defend.* Several days were spent by the lords of the council in anxious deliberation. No idea of resisting the covenanters, seems, for a moment, to have been entertained, but all anticipated the future tranquillity of the kingdom from concessions, implying the King's inability to maintain his power, and the vast resources of those united for its diminution. They, in the end, resolved to send Sir John Hamilton to London, with instructions sufficiently disclosing their sentiments. After several preliminary injunctions, he was commanded to state, that it was the unanimous opinion of the council, that the causes of the general combustions in the country were the fears of innovation in religion and ecclesiastical discipline by the service-book, canons, and high commission, which had been irregularly introduced; to represent the propriety of the King declaring that he should take trial of the grievances of his people, and should, in the mean time, not urge upon them

* Baillie, Vol. I. p. 48 and 51. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 12 and 41. and also p. 22 and 30. Burnet's History of his own Times, Vol. I. p. 27.

the practice of what they condemned; and to suggest that he should call up such of the council as he thought qualified, to state the reasons upon which the advice humbly submitted to him was founded. They concluded by enjoining Hamilton to assure his Majesty, that they could do nothing to prevent the convocations and unlawful meetings which were regularly held, till his pleasure was returned to what was styled their humble remonstrance. The instructions were subscribed by all the lords of the council who were present, and having been transmitted to the bishops, were also signed by the chancellor, and the bishops of Edinburgh, Dunblane, Galloway, and Brechin. With this public dispatch there was sent to the King a private letter from Traquair and Roxburgh, confirming the representation of the troubled state of the kingdom, and suggesting, that, as religion was the pretended cause of all the commotions, it would be wise to dissipate the alarm of his subjects, and thus to separate the intelligent part of the community from the violent agitators of tumult. In a memorial to the Marquis of Hamilton, who had great sway over the King, the council urged the importance of bringing the evils which afflicted Scotland to a happy issue; whilst the chief of the covenanters wrote to the lords at court, and one of them assured the marquis, that they would quit

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their lives, if they did not get all which they desired.*

1638. Determination of the King.

It was impossible for the most careless or deluded sovereign to pay no attention to all those statements, confirmed by several of the council who were summoned to court, and by many of the bishops, who gladly sought refuge in London from the fury of the populace. Charles seems to have been at length roused, and convinced that it was necessary to take some step to regain the influence which he had lost. This was indeed the critical moment, and upon the resolution now formed almost everything depended. That his prerogative had been invaded, and that, under the pretence of religious liberty, practices had been introduced subversive of all government, there could, notwithstanding the sophistry of prejudiced lawyers, be no doubt; and the interesting question to be resolved was, Whether he should enforce his own acts, or whether he should freely grant the privileges for which his subjects were prepared to contend? At this time, even with his high opinion of the dignity of sovereigns, there were many reasons which pressed on him the necessity of caution. The southern parts of Scotland were firmly united; and although it seems to have been suggested to him that he

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 34—38. Large Declaration, p. 76. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 47. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 741—744. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 31. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 27.

might raise an army in the north, this was too desperate a scheme not to be rejected. His throne in England he already felt shaking beneath him; his finances were inconsiderable; and it was doubtful how far he could depend upon his troops should they be called to oppose a popular cause. As he thus decided not immediately, at least, to have recourse to compulsion, sound policy should have pointed out, that, in his present circumstances, it was wise to make the most ample concessions.* Had he at once restored the presbyterian polity, and accompanied the restoration with such a settlement of ecclesiastical property as would have gratified the nobility, he would, in all probability, have knit to him the hearts of a brave and magnanimous people, and saved himself from the difficulties in which he was soon involved. At this period the connection between his English and Scotish subjects was very slight, and it was thus more easy than it ever afterwards could have been, to render the latter devoted to the crown. This policy was pointed out to him by official communications, the accuracy of which he could not doubt. The Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, and Montrose, drew up a paper, containing eight articles, for the present peace of the church and kingdom of Scotland, which was sent to such of the nobility as were in London. They required that the service-book and canons should be dis-

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 62, 63.

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charged, with the articles of Perth and the High Commission; that churchmen should not sit in parliament; that the oaths required from the clergy when they assumed their sacred office should be cancelled; that General Assemblies should be revived, and regularly held; that a parliament should be summoned for redressing the grievances of the subjects; and they concluded by saying, that, if these petitions were granted, their tongues and pens could not represent what would be the joyful acclamations and hearty wishes of so loyal and loving a people for his Majesty's happiness, and how heartily bent all sorts would be found to bestow their fortunes and lives in his Majesty's service. *

Unhappily, the King's attachment to episcopacy, and the hope which he cherished of dividing his enemies, prevented him from following conduct so decisive. He resolved to make some concessions; but he did so in language so vague, as to suggest the idea that he was not sincere; and he appointed a high commissioner, vested with splendid powers, trusting that by his address much might be done to compose tumult, without compromising the rights of the crown. He selected for this delicate and hazardous office the Marquis of Hamilton, a nobleman descended from the royal family, attached to the best interests of the sovereign, yet mingling this attachment with those patriotic feelings which it was

Marquis of Hamilton appointed commissioner.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 38—42. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 154.

so honourable to foster. * He had spent some years of his early life in a foreign country. Upon his return, he took no decided part in the contests which distracted Scotland; but his extensive connections, and his moderate principles, gained the confidence of some of the leading covenanters, and they repeatedly applied to him to present their petitions to the King. † The marquis saw the difficulties with which he would have to contend; and although he conceived it to be his duty to accept the appointment, he stated to his Majesty that success was doubtful, and that he dreaded that, in whatever way he might act, he should lose his favour. ‡

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The manner in which he should act, and the objects which he should strive to secure, now became the subject of deliberation. All idea of relinquishing episcopacy was cast out of view, and he was authorized to give an assurance merely that the canons and the service-book should not be pressed but in a legal way, and that the court of commission should be regulated so as to be no longer a grievance to loyal subjects. A declaration more adapted to sooth the feelings of the covenanters was proposed by Spottiswoode, in which all allusion to disclaiming the covenant was omitted;

His instructions.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 38. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 745.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 38. Large Declaration, p. 76, 77. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 49.

‡ Burnet's Memoirs, p. 38.

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1638. but it was laid aside, and the less guarded declaration, requiring what was so obnoxious, was adopted. That there might be no misunderstanding, Hamilton proposed to the King several questions, which his Majesty answered. One of these questions related to the steps to be taken should the covenanters protest against the proclamation which had been sanctioned; and the answer was decisive, the pro-

16th May. testers must be proclaimed rebels. Formal instructions, signed by Charles, were given to the marquis, the tenor of which plainly shews that nothing could be expected from his mission to Scotland. *

Covenanters suspect the designs of the Court.

Intelligence of this nobleman's appointment to represent his Majesty was immediately conveyed to Scotland, but no explicit information of what he was permitted to concede was sent. To men fully aware of the ground upon which they stood, and sensible that upon their union, depended not only the cause which they were pledged to promote, but, after the steps which they had taken, their safety or their existence, this reserve suggested much matter of apprehension; they dreaded that less than what they judged requisite would be granted, whilst the appearance of anxiety on the part of the King to preserve tranquillity might deceive some of those

* Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 43—51, where the documents themselves copied from the originals are inserted. Wodrow, who was a most laborious and accurate collector of facts, bears his testimony to the fidelity of Burnet, and has followed him in his MSS. Vol. III. folio, under life of Spottiswoode, p. 155—157.

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who had adhered to them. To guard against this, the meetings of the tables became more frequent than before; subsidiary branches of the representative body were multiplied; some measures were taken for procuring arms; sermons were delivered, in which the coming of the marquis was represented as full of danger; and a paper, containing ten propositions, the design of which was to prevent division, was expeditiously circulated through the kingdom. *

Arrival of the Marquis in Scotland. 3d June.

The Marquis of Hamilton left London about the end of May, and arrived at Berwick early in June. In the course of his journey he heard of the alarming and agitated situation of Scotland; and this was fully confirmed by the Earl of Roxburgh, who met him at Berwick. Roxburgh plainly said, that there was no hope of a favourable issue unless his Majesty's instructions were enlarged; and, on the following day, Lord Lindsay stated to the commissioner, that the people would never relinquish the covenant; that they insisted upon such a limitation of episcopacy as implied almost its abolition; that they would not submit to the five articles of Perth; and that, if their demands were not fully granted, and a general assembly and parliament immediately convened, they would summon them by their own authority. †

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 49, 50. Large Declaration, in which the paper is inserted, p. 79—82.

† Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 52. Large De-

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1638. June. Alarming incident.

In Edinburgh, an incident which happened a few days before had excited the utmost alarm, and led to the most violent conduct. In the critical state of public affairs, when the covenanters were evidently strengthening themselves by the most judicious arrangements for a civil war, it was judged prudent to supply the fortresses of the kingdom with warlike stores; and a vessel laden with arms and ammunition had, under the sanction of government, arrived in Leith roads. Rumour magnified the quantity which was brought; and the covenanters, affecting to consider this as the signal of hostility, resolved to seize the ship. In this they were disappointed, for the Earl of Traquair conveyed the cargo in safety to Dalkeith. The covenanters summoned before their commissioners the commander of the vessel, who, by subscribing the covenant, turned aside their indignation; and Traquair took credit for not lodging the ammunition in the castle of Edinburgh, alleging, that the attempt to have done so would have excited tumult, and thus prevented the possibility of an amicable arrangement. Some of the violent presbyterians, however, did not scruple to propose that they should march to Dalkeith, and carry off the stores which had been there deposited.

claration, p. 80. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 157. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 188. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 749.

This was overruled; but the castle was surrounded with a guard, that it might not be supplied. *

1638. Reception of the Commissioner.

Hamilton could not fail to be disheartened by the prospect before him, but, determined to proceed, he wrote to his vassals, and to all the nobility and gentlemen in the line of his journey, to attend him. This exposed him to fresh mortification. The covenanters were prohibited by the tables from paying to the representative of the sovereign the customary respect, and he reached Dalkeith as little noticed as if he had been a private individual. A few of the lords then waited upon him to apologize for what might so readily be construed into an insult, and though he received from the members of council every testimony of respect, this could not obliterate the impression which had been made on his mind. †

His commission was read in the council, but when he wished to act upon it, he found that he had to encounter the most formidable opposition. The great majority of that body were favourable to the covenant; Argyll, amidst professions of loyalty, was hostile to the royal cause; and Hope was constantly representing, that the measures proposed were in opposition to the laws of the land, with

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 52, compared with Baillie, Vol. I. p. 57, 58. Large Declaration, p. 82—84.

† Baillie, Vol. I. p. 56, 57. Large Declaration, p. 81, 82. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 750.

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which he was known to be intimately acquainted.* The commissioner was now involved in much perplexity. Slighted by the people, feebly supported, or actually opposed by the servants of the crown, he saw that the concessions which he had been permitted to make, would be scornfully rejected, and that to insist upon the covenant being abandoned, would occasion instant rebellion. All this he stated to the King, and advised that vigorous measures should immediately be adopted. The answer of Charles plainly shews, that he had no serious intention of gratifying his people. He expressed his conviction, that nothing but force would reduce his subjects to obedience; he approved of not inserting in the proclamation what related to the covenant till his preparations for war were in greater forwardness; and he concluded by saying, that he had written for no other end than to shew that he would rather die than yield to the impertinent and damnable demands, as Hamilton had styled them, for it is all one, he wrote, as to yield to be no King in a very short time. In a postscript, he observed, that he did not expect the commissioner to denounce as traitors, those who adhered to the covenant, till he heard of the fleet being at sea." † When this language is compared with that

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 53.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 55, 56. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 107.

used in his official papers, it is impossible to doubt, that his professions of tenderness for his people were not sincere, and that the general feature of his policy was, to cast a veil over his hostile intentions till he could with effect carry them into execution. It is also evident from his letter, that the Marquis had not, as has been sometimes alleged against him, deluded his master, by underrating the danger, but had candidly exhibited it in all its magnitude, and pressed having recourse to the sword. CHAP. XV. 1638.

Commissioner comes to Edinburgh.

But the covenanters, although they had hitherto slighted the commissioner, did not wish that he should leave the kingdom without their attempting to negociate; and the magistrates of Edinburgh, with their concurrence, presented to him a supplication, that he would take up his residence in the palace of Holyroodhouse. This he refused to do, whilst the gates of the city, and the approaches to the Castle were guarded by armed men; but he promised that, if these were disbanded, and proper respect shewn to him, he would comply. The guards, though soon restored, were in consequence removed, and the covenanters determined to receive the Marquis with a formal pomp, which was really intended to shew their strength, and to convince him, that resistance to their wishes would be fruitless. Immense multitudes of all classes were collected; the noblemen and gentlemen of the different counties gave their countenance to the populace; above five hundred ministers, rendered con-

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spicuous by their dress, assembled in one place; and one of the most austere of their number who had been appointed to address the commissioner, made an attempt to discharge the duty which had been imposed on him. The Marquis wisely declined listening to the speech of this stern orator, which he had been informed would explain all the complaints of the party. The populace, however, were not restrained from expressing what they felt. They exclaimed with much violence against Popery and the bishops, shewing, by the association, the light in which episcopacy was generally regarded. *

His negotiation with the Covenanters.

The Marquis lost no time in holding conferences with the leaders of the faction. With much gentleness, and apparent earnestness for the happiness of his country, he made a considerable impression upon their minds; but this was soon effaced after it was discovered how limited were the powers with which he was invested. He requested them to state what was the amount of their demands, and what their sovereign might expect from them as the evidence of returning to their obedience,—particularly how far they were disposed to relinquish the Covenant. To the first they answered, that they required a General Assembly to decide questions of

* Large Declaration, p. 85, 86. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 61. This writer says, "we had appointed Mr William Livingstone, the strongest in voice, and austerest of countenance, to make him a short welcome." Burnet's Memoirs, p. 54. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 33. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 750.

ecclesiastical polity, and a parliament to ratify the proceedings of the Assembly;—they denied that they had shewn the slightest deficiency of loyalty to the King;—they declared that they would as soon renounce their baptism as the Covenant, and that the proposal to renounce it was so hateful to them, that they could not again listen to it. *

Their demands, urged in the most imperious manner, confirmed the marquis in the opinion which he had long entertained, that it would be necessary to resort to arms; and every day afforded new proof that the covenanters were rapidly acquiring strength. Intimations were given to him, that, if he celebrated divine worship according to the English ritual, the person who officiated should never read the service more;—the avowal of his intention to publish the King's declaration was received in such a manner, that he esteemed it prudent to delay doing so till the multitudes were dispersed; and when he urged the necessity of explaining that part of the covenant which seemed to imply resistance to his Majesty himself, several of the tables listened with evident aversion and disgust. At length, however, they presented a supplication; but, although it was expressed in general terms of loyalty, it plainly insinuated, that obedience to the sove-

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 54 and 57. Large Declaration, p. 87. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 61, 62. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 27, 28.

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reign would be regulated by the degree in which he yielded to their demands. They assumed an attitude of defiance, took effectual measures to prevent the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling from being seized, and manifested their determination to extort what they conceived it essential to civil and religious liberty to obtain. *

His correspondence with the King.

In the present posture of affairs, the commissioner judged it proper to return to London, and, in the letter which he sent to the King, requesting permission to undertake the journey, he suggested, that if his Majesty required him previously to publish the declaration, this should be preceded by an act of grace, bringing back the Court of Session to Edinburgh, which would be highly popular. To this the King acceded; and Hamilton, after the covenanters believed that he was on his way to court, returned to the metropolis, and alarmed them by making the usual preparations for signifying the

30th June.

will of the sovereign. Numbers hastened to the cross, but they were pleased by the arrangement

2d July.

which was unexpectedly announced. The privy-council expressed their gratitude to his Majesty,—the magistrates and inhabitants of Edinburgh did not conceal their satisfaction,—but the covenanters laboured to counteract the effect which had been

* Large Declaration, p. 88 and 108, 109. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 62—64. Answer to the Third Demand of the Aberdeen Doctors respecting the Covenant, p. 10, 11.

produced. The commissioner, however, thought that, notwithstanding symptoms of turbulence which the knowledge of his intention had given occasion to display, the proclamation should be read, and, having with difficulty procured the concurrence of the council, he ordered it to be done. It was heard by vast multitudes, who expressed their indignation, and, although it made no allusion to renouncing the Covenant,—although it contained a solemn pledge of the King's attachment to the reformed religion, and a promise that he should press no innovations without the consent of his subjects, deputies from the different tables, headed by the Earl of Cassilis, formally entered their protest. * 1638. 4th July

The council waver.

This decided opposition alarmed many of the privy-counsellors, who, really friendly to the discontented, or weakly courting the popularity which can be gained only by the sacrifice of principle, wished to retrace their steps. They accordingly lamented to the marquis, that, in following his advice they had violated the dictates of their consciences, and they implored that they might withdraw the consent which they had given to announce the proclamation. Against this he warmly remonstrated,—represented to them how inconsistent such conduct would be with honour, with patriotism, and

* Large Declaration, p. 95—106. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 68, 69. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 64. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 754—761. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 28.

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with loyalty; but although he silenced them for the night, they next day renewed their demand, and threatened that, if it were not granted, they would avow their sentiments by subscribing the covenant. He did not conceive it prudent to drive them to this desperate measure, and, as the act of council to which they alluded had not been registered, he tore it in their presence. * Nothing could more clearly shew the rapidly increasing influence of the covenanters, and of this they were themselves fully sensible The Earl of Loudon, in a conversation with Hamilton, advanced this hazardous political maxim, that they knew no bands between a King and his subjects, but those of religion and laws; that if these were broken there was no security for life; and that all fears inconsistent with the preservation of such security were past with them. In conformity with such language, the enemies to innovation insisted, that their right to keep a General Assembly was derived from God, and that no prince could, in law or reason, take it from them; and upon the same ground they rested their right to do all which they judged requisite for shaking off the yoke of oppression. Whether we consider such claims as arising from irritation, or from sound views of the nature of the political union, they indicated a state of mind which could

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 64. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 69. Demands of the Aberdeen Doctors respecting the Covenant, p. 10, 11.

be changed only by concession subversive of the throne, or by force which they who urged them could not resist. *

The marquis now resolved to execute his intention of going to London He soothed, by promises of interference in their favour, the leaders of the faction, and having engaged to return by the beginning of August, he obtained from them an assurance, that, till the expiration of that period, they should preserve tranquillity. † It has been doubted whether it was wise in him, at this time, to leave Scotland; but the situation of the kingdom fully justifies the commissioner's resolution. ‡ He perceived that the loyal party was intimidated, and was losing strength; he knew that the King was embarrassed by opposition in England; that many in that country took a deep interest in the Scotish troubles, as opening the way for their own deliverance; and that the court of France was fomenting disturbances, which, by weakening the English monarch, would enable it, without restraint, to prosecute its own schemes upon the continent of Europe. §

The Marquis goes to court. 6th July.

* Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 69, 70.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 61 and 65. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 28. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 70.

‡ Sanderson, in his History of Charles I. p. 239, calls it a fatal policy.

§ Burnet's Memoirs, p. 58. Franklyn's Annals of the Reign of Charles I. p. 768, 769. Guthrie's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 228 Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 158.

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From the union of these difficulties it appeared to him prudent to procrastinate,—to endeavour to sow dissension amongst the heads of the faction, by apparently combining the attainment of their great objects with adherence to the sovereign,—and thus to increase the royal influence, or to weaken those by whom it was resisted.

His advice to the King, and the result of it.

Upon his arrival at court, he laid before his Majesty the real state of affairs; he suggested, as a powerful instrument for removing apprehensions, that the confession of faith sanctioned at the introduction of the Reformation, and which was in express opposition to the popish tenets, should be subscribed; and he urged the King to determine, whether, from all the particulars stated, he would not comply, in some greater degree, with the demands of the covenanters. The result of this was a resolution, on the part of his Majesty, to order the subscription of the confession of 1567, together with a bond expressive of zeal for his service,—to permit a General Assembly, the fond object of the presbyterians, under certain conditions specified, to be speedily assembled,—and to agree to a meeting of parliament. *

Conduct of the Covenanters during his absence.

Whilst Hamilton was advising the King, the covenanters, although they did not break out into

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 65—68. Large Declaration, p. 111 and 116, 117. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 763, 764. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 28.

acts of violence, were assiduous in confirming their ascendancy over the people, and in encouraging them, by persevering in their opposition to government, to gain what they wished to be conceded. Far from confining their views to those modifications of episcopacy for which alone they had originally contended, they now insisted that it should be totally abolished, and declared to be unlawful; they resolved that bishops should have no vote in parliament; and to counteract the loyalty which still was felt by some of their adherents, or of those whom they wished to attach to them, they did not hesitate to affirm that the commissioner had approved of the covenant, agreeably to an explanation of it which they had presented to him, and which was contained in the supplication already mentioned. *

He returns to Scotland. 8th Aug.

Upon his return to Scotland he indulged the hope that the intelligence which he conveyed would be in general satisfactory, but he soon found, that during his absence the faction had enlarged their pretensions. When he proposed to call an Assembly under the conditions which he exhibited, and afterwards to hold a parliament, the tables instantly decided, that these conditions were inconsistent with the freedom of the Assembly, and that, if the summoning of this ecclesiastical judicatory

* Large Declaration, p. 111, 112, and 120. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 68. General Demands, &c. respecting the Covenant, p. 11. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 28.

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was not freely granted, they would, by their own authority, appoint it to be held. *

1638. Difference of sentiment amongst the Covenanters overruled.

In the discussions, however, to which this subject gave rise, a point was agitated which nearly dissolved the harmony by which the covenanters had hitherto been distinguished. One of the conditions upon which the King insisted was, that the commissioners from presbyteries should be chosen by the ministers of the respective presbyteries only, and that no lay-person whatsoever should interfere in the choice. The committee appointed by the tables to give an answer replied, that none should meddle with the election of commissioners from presbyteries but ministers and elders. When this was communicated to the clergy, many of them hesitated about permitting elders to sit, not merely in sessions, but in presbyteries, perceiving that this would transfer to the laity the power of determining who should be elected to the Assembly. They therefore required that the mode of expression should be altered, and that it should be stated, in general, that the right of election was be vested in those in whom, by law or custom, it had previously resided. This left the privileges of lay elders open for future consideration; but the tables of nobility, barons, and burgesses, were highly offended by the alteration, and threatened to desert the cause if the ori-

* Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 76. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 69. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 28.

ginal resolution was not sanctioned. The ministers were naturally reluctant to surrender their independence, but the dread of laying themselves open to the intrigues or the power of the bishops, led them to yield, and the vote of elders in presbyteries was thus finally established. *

This dispute throws light upon the secret motives by which the nobility and gentlemen who took an active part against the court were guided. Had their sole object been to get rid of the innovations, or to assert that purity of doctrine which they conceived to be sullied by the tenets of Arminius, they might have left the work in perfect confidence to the zeal of the ministers. Their object, however, even from the beginning, seems to have been what it was now avowed to be, the total abolition of episcopacy, by which they would not only throw open to themselves the civil honours and distinguished situations, which, under the reign of Charles, had been granted to the higher ecclesiastics, but would fully secure that part of their property which had originally belonged to the church, and which they were afraid would soon be wrested from them to uphold the dignity of the hierarchy. They did not however choose to trust the accomplishment of their secular designs solely to the ministers. A-

* Baillie, Vol. I. p. 75. Large Declaration, p. 116, 117, and 119. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 69. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 769, erroneously 761.

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mongst them, there were some who were not reconciled to the complete change of polity which was contemplated, and the more artful politicians dreaded, that the King might influence them, by meliorating their situation, to return to that loyalty which their zeal had suspended. To prevent all hazard of this kind, the chief men among the covenanters insisted, that lay-elders should vote in presbyteries for the representatives to the Assembly; and as the number of these elders was equal to that of the ministers, whilst the moderator, and sometimes the candidates proposed, did not vote, the lay part of the body could choose such of the clergy as thoroughly entered into their views, and would go every length to which they wished them to proceed.

Resolution of the Commissioner to return to Court.

It is not improbable, that the hope of cherishing the seeds of discord which he knew had been sown, influenced the commissioner to propose, that he should again go to the King; and these hopes were strengthened by other incidents which had recently taken place. In conformity to the policy which the covenanters had adopted, they represented the offer to summon an Assembly as insincere. To remove this calumny, Hamilton compressed the ten conditions into two, and publicly intimated, that if the laity were excluded from choosing members of Assembly, and if the Assembly would not interfere with what belonged to parliament, except by remonstrance or petition, he should instantly call that su-

preme ecclesiastical judicatory, and after its dissolution, convoke the estates. This declaration irritated the violent presbyterians, and they deliberated whether they should not, without farther delay, by their own authority, convoke the Assembly. The more moderate of the party shrunk from this measure, which would have rendered accommodation impossible; and it was found prudent so far to yield to them, as to take no decided step till the return of the Marquis from court, which he promised should happen by the 20th of September.* CHAP. XV. 1638. Aug.

His plan was to increase the tendency to division which had been repeatedly manifested, by endeavouring to prevail with the King to grant all which had been at first desired, and thus to render it impossible for the most timid or the most zealous to entertain any fear about the purity of religion. There were, however, many objections to this mode of proceeding. The largeness of concession which was required by it, so inconsistent with the principles of Charles, could not fail to excite suspicion that he was not sincere; whilst the failure of success would confirm the aspersions of treachery, which, in the warmth of party zeal, had already been cast upon the Marquis himself, which were often repeated, but which an impartial view of his conduct, and his subsequent history, appear fully to refute.† His plan.

* Large Declaration, p. 123, 124. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 66, 67. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 70. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 36. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 28. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 765.

† Sanderson's History of Charles I. p. 241. Life of Charles I. pre

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1638. Aug. 25.

He commenced his journey towards the end of August, and that the advice which he intended to give to his sovereign might have greater weight, he stopped to consult with the Earls of Traquair, Roxburgh, and Southesk, in whom he confided. They entirely coincided with him, and the four noblemen subscribed some articles, written by Traquair, for the royal inspection. Upon the arrival of the Marquis at Oatlands, the state of Scotland became the subject of anxious consideration. He suggested, in conformity with the articles, and upon the general grounds which have been stated, that the book of prayer and the canons should be cancelled, the court of High Commission abolished, and the articles of Perth suspended, till they should be anew approved by an Assembly and a parliament. He recommended, that the confession against Popery, with the bond annexed to it in the time of James, should be ordered to be subscribed, and that pardon for what was past should be offered to all who agreed to act in future as dutiful subjects. Charles felt vast reluctance to the proposal for signing the negative confession, but he at length consented to make all the concessions which had been enumerated. Hamilton, having thus succeeded,

fixed to Royston's Collection of his Works, published at London 1662. Guthrie, in his Memoirs, p. 34, 35, records a speech as made by Hamilton, which, if genuine, would place his treachery beyond a doubt; but the evidence of his having spoken it is not conclusive, and Burnet has satisfactorily established his loyalty.

hastened to Scotland, bearing instructions which, he flattered himself, would convince the people that the best security for preventing innovation, was to adhere to their sovereign. * CHAP. XV. 1638. Sept. 10.

Measures of the Covenanters.

Although a promise had been made to the commissioner, that no election of members of Assembly should take place till after his return, he had no sooner departed, than instructions were issued from the tables, that members should be chosen on the day after that which had been fixed for his arrival; thus keeping in words the engagement, but with that melancholy departure from strict integrity so often conspicuous in civil dissensions, violating the purpose for which the engagement had been made. The conditions which had been proposed by the King were rejected, as abridging the freedom of the Assembly, yet, with strange inconsistency, the covenanters sent to all presbyteries directions by which they were to be regulated in their choice of representatives, directions certainly much more infringing the liberty of the supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, than the conditions which had, with indecent violence, been so lately reprobated. †

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 70—74. Large Declaration, p. 126, 127. Baillie's Letters and Journals. Vol. I. p. 79, 80. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 765—768. The pages are erroneously numbered in Rushworth; the above is as they ought to be. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 161.

† Baillie, Vol. I. p. 78. The directions to presbyteries are inserted in the Large Declaration, p. 129—131.

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Nothing can be conceived more unfavourable for candid judgment than political or religious dissension; the different parties lose that soundness of understanding and accuracy of moral perception which in ordinary times the generality of men happily possess; and whilst they brand the actions of their adversaries as proceeding from the worst of motives, hold forth similar actions by themselves, as unequivocal evidence of ardent patriotism, or pure zeal for the interests of religion. *

Prudence of the Commissioner.

Hamilton, on his way from court, met with the Scotish bishops who had taken refuge in England. He communicated to them the resolution of the King to hold an assembly, to which they should be amenable; and, not regarding their warm remonstrances and their powerful arguments against this, he, after consenting that one of them should state their objections to his Majesty, pursued his journey, and reached Holyroodhouse several days before that upon which he was expected. He soon learnt that the jealousy occasioned by the decision respecting lay-elders was far from being removed; and he wisely judged, that a speedy disclosure of the gracious intentions of the sovereign would be the most effectual mode of rendering them subservient to the royal cause. † He accordingly immediately summoned the council, and laid before it the conces-

17th Sept.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 78, 79. Baillie, p. 79. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 181, 182.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 79.

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sions which were to be made. He enlarged upon the King's condescension, which he attributed to paternal concern for the happiness of his people; and after the members of the council in whom he confided had enforced what he said, and all had particularly insisted upon subscribing the negative confession, he deferred the decision upon this point till the next day. When the council again met, it was unanimously resolved that the confession should be immediately signed; that the proclamation of grace should be published; and that the orders for a General Assembly, to be held at Glasgow on the twenty-first of November, and for a parliament to meet in the following May, should be read. An act was passed, declaring their high satisfaction with the concessions of the King; and a letter of thanks to him, containing professions of steady adherence to his service, was written. *

Lords of the Covenant still dissatisfied.

These resolutions were of the more importance, that they were adopted in opposition to the requests of the lords of the covenant. They had, upon the arrival of the marquis, waited upon him to know what was the King's determination; and although he declined making an official communication till he had met with the council, he wisely informed them, that all which they had asked was granted, and that a free assembly and a parliament should without delay be called. At this intelligence, which, had

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 80 and 81. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 5[illegible].

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1638. Sept.

they been guided by pure motives of patriotism, should have filled them with joy, they coldly expressed their satisfaction; rendering it evident that they would embrace any means to prevent the harmony which now seemed likely to be restored. The requisition to subscribe anew the negative confession, afforded them the pretext which they anxiously sought; and although they had made adherence to this confession the test of attachment

22d Sept.

to the reformation, they earnestly requested that the proclamation requiring the subscription might be delayed for a few days, observing, that, if they were not able then to bring unanswerable reasons against the measure, they should withdraw their opposition. Having been admitted to the council, they renewed this demand, and a long debate upon it took place. The interest of the King imperiously required that in this they should be resisted. Their motive for delay was not that they might consider the subject, but that they might be able to prejudice the minds of the people, and fix upon the manner in which their resistance was to be conducted. *

Various acts of concession published.

The various acts of concession were, after the breaking up of the council, regularly proclaimed; and it was with much reason hoped that moderate men would be contented, and would resist any endeavours to thwart the intentions of the King. A protestation, however, replete with the most dis-

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 79—81. Large Declaration, p. 135—137. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 79. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 769.

ingenuous reasoning, and evincing the determination of the leading covenanters to resist all terms, was read; and the Earl of Montrose appeared upon this occasion in name of the discontented nobility. * 1688. 22d Sept.

This conduct of the presbyterians cannot be justified. There is no doubt that they suspected the King's sincerity, and were apprehensive that, if they were divided, the concessions would soon be withdrawn, and episcopacy in its most obnoxious form forced upon the nation; but although there was some ground for their suspicions, these suspicions did not warrant the step which they had taken. They knew their influence, and they could not have the least distrust in the affections of the great majority of their countrymen. Had they then thankfully received the concessions which they had the merit of procuring, they would justly have been regarded by all whose opinion they valued as the best of patriots; and the purity of their motives would have raised them in the estimation of posterity. They would thus have been exposed to no danger. Fortified as the ecclesiastical polity which they attacked had been by the approbation of the King, the sanction of Parliament, and the concur-

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 81. The protest, with the other papers, is given at length in the Large Declaration, p. 157—173.. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 772—778. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 80. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 37.

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rence of General Assemblies, they had not only been able to shake its foundation, but they had secured its destruction. They could therefore have had no difficulty in supporting presbytery, had it once been introduced; and had the King been so imprudent or so unprincipled as to break his engagements to them, they would with the utmost ease have rekindled the zeal which he could not resist, and have united every arm in their defence. By protesting, as they did, they descended from the high ground which they might have occupied, and shewed all the disingenuity of faction; sinking the regard for public good in the desire to retain their influence, and having recourse to sophistry and evasion, which the best friends of the presbyterian discipline may lament and condemn.

The King's Covenant subscribed by numbers.

The views which have been mentioned were entertained by many of the most respectable of the ministers, and of the other classes who had combined against the schemes of the court; for great numbers readily subscribed the King's covenant, and the bond which was attached to it. Even Sir Thomas Hope, zealous as he was for the other covenant, united with the rest of the council in thinking, that all which was necessary to give satisfaction had been conceded. In Glasgow many listened to the proclamations with the liveliest joy; and were so far from protesting, as had been done in Edinburgh, that they joined with those who had never

subscribed the covenant in writing a letter of thanks to the commissioner. *

1638. Activity of the Covenanters.

The covenanters, who saw the danger of this division, made the most strenuous efforts to convince the people, that signing at the request of the King would prove a snare from which it would be difficult to escape. They circulated by their emissaries, and inculcated by their most popular preachers, that his Majesty was not sincere; that his object was to divide his opponents; and that, if this were accomplished, they would soon be subjected to intolerable tyranny. They alarmed the consciences of the multitude, by maintaining, that all who, having previously subscribed their covenant, now signed the one tendered by the commissioner, were guilty of perjury; and they employed artifices for increasing the effect of their arguments, which, it is painful to think, were countenanced by men professing the most sacred regard for the purity of the gospel. A woman, warmly attached to the covenant, happened to be afflicted with insanity, or with an aberration of intellect and perversion of imagination nearly approaching to it; and in this state she inveighed, with much vehemence, against signing the King's confession, talking of the covenant as the work of God. Advantage was taken of her melancholy situation; many did not hesitate to affirm that she

* Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 81, 82. Large Declaration, p. 180—182. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 85, 86. He mentions that about 28,000 signed. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 784, 785.

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was inspired; and that the warnings which she uttered should be revered as the dictates of heaven. Some men of higher rank countenanced this impious idea; numbers flocked to see her when she was under the influence of her distemper; she was carried to the house of a distinguished covenanter; and those who understood what was the real state of the case, either from fear, or from desire in any way to strengthen their cause, did not enlighten the people; while all who branded her as an impostor were held forth as enemies to the church and the state. * To alarm the multitude about the danger of Popery, the faction countenanced a jesuit of the name of Abernethy, who pretended to have been converted, and who sought to ingratiate himself with his new friends by the most scandalous falsehoods; affirming, that a liturgy for Scotland had been sent to Rome, and there revised by a number of cardinals, and that schemes had been formed for uniting to Rome the English church, and through it the Scotish nation. †

To the meeting of the General Assembly the covenanters looked forward with the utmost solicitude, and they laboured to procure the election of

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 83—ult. Large Declaration, p. 183, 195, and p. 226—228. Hume's Hist. of England, Vol. IV. p. 218, Montrose edition. He represents the ravings of this woman as having been useful to the covenanters in preparing for war; but they were uttered before the meeting of the Assembly.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 83, compared with Baillie, Vol. I. p. 78.

men in whom they could confide. Secret instructions relating to this were sent from the tables to presbyteries, the right of lay elders to vote for representatives was again earnestly urged, and although in several places this was steadily resisted, yet the faction succeeded in obtaining the return of a decided majority friendly to their schemes, and determined to support them.* CHAP. XV. 1638.

Thus strengthened, they proceeded to unfold another part of their plan, which was to prevent the bishops from voting in the Assembly, and even to drag them as criminals to its bar. They requested the commissioner to cite them before it, and when he refused to do so, justly declaring that it was sufficient that he did not protect them from a fair trial upon any charges that might be brought against them, the covenanters had recourse to the presbytery of Edinburgh. A number from all the classes forming the tables, presented to the presbytery a bill or complaint against the pretended archbishops and bishops within the realm, in which they accused them of violating the cautions; of adhering to Arminian and popish tenets; of exercising unwarrantable authority over the clergy; and as guilty of almost all the vices which the most worthless habitually commit: and they concluded by praying, that the objects of their antipathy might Their proceedings against the bishops. Oct.

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 82, 83. Large Declaration, p. 133 and 188—192. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 85, 86. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 38, 39.

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be censured, and punished as they merited. By what title the persons exhibiting this complaint appeared as accusers, the presbytery was not solicitous to inquire; but without considering the limits of their own jurisdiction; without devoting any time to ascertain whether the charges against such distinguished individuals had any foundation, or were merely the scandalous libels of a heated faction, they referred the consideration of the whole matter to the Assembly; they ordained the complaint and the reference to be read from all the pulpits within their bounds, thus transgressing the precepts of Christianity, by disseminating accusations against the ministers of Christ, without any previous attempts, if they were guilty, to bring them to repentance; and they applied to them the epithet of pretended bishops, thus deciding against the positive statutes of parliament, and the ordinances of General Assemblies, which had never, by any competent authority, been declared to be irregular. In Glasgow, similar steps were taken against the archbishop of that city and province.*

This conduct displayed a violence of party-spirit

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 88, 89. Large Declaration, p. 207—226, where much information upon this matter is collected. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 163—166, and Appendix, in which the different papers are inserted. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 84. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II p. 787. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 28. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 28.

which cannot be too severely reprobated, and it was as unnecessary as it was improper. If the covenanters believed that the abolition of episcopacy was necessary for preserving or restoring the constitution of the Scotish church, as settled by the reformers, this might have been done by an act of Assembly, upon the same general principles which had been avowed at the introduction of presbytery. The archbishops and bishops had, under the former reign, been constituted by parliament the governors of the church; their titles had been given to them by successive assemblies; and if we justify the manner in which their enemies now acted towards them, we must do so upon the ground that force is right, and that any faction which is able to subvert the government, may, without any violation of duty, accomplish its subversion.*

Difficulties with which the Commissioner had to struggle.

From the view which has been given of the state of affairs, it will be readily perceived that the commissioner had to struggle with many difficulties, and could not be sanguine in his expectations, that the differences which he lamented would be speedily terminated. But his embarrassment was not created solely by the open adherents to the covenant; he found even those, whose official situation should have led them to strengthen his influence, cold or hos-

* Wodrow, MSS. Vol. III. in life of Spottiswoode, p. 164, 165, endeavours, very unsatisfactorily and uncandidly, to defend the proceedings against the bishops.

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tile.* Yet he felt the utmost reluctance to follow the advice which he had received from the bishops to prorogue the assembly, because he saw that this would be interpreted as a breach of the royal faith, and would effectually promote the designs of the covenanters, who were desirous that it should be adjourned, to give them a pretext for holding it by their own authority. In the opinion of the marquis, the King acquiesced; and Hamilton, collecting the reasons upon which he contended that the elections were irregular, determined, if the members became refractory, to urge these, and dissolve the

Nov.

Assembly.† Previous to his going to Glasgow he assembled the council;—he explained to them the intention of not sacrificing episcopacy, to which the King was devoted; and he enjoined Sir Thomas Hope to be prepared to prove that this form of church government was agreeable to the laws of Scotland. Hope firmly replied, that it was contrary to his conscience to do so, for he believed episcopacy to be in opposition both to the word of God and to the laws of the church and the kingdom. Such a reply, from one whose legal knowledge was so much esteemed, and whose influence was so powerful, the commissioner knew would strengthen the covenanters, and render the task which he himself had to perform peculiarly difficult. He therefore remonstrated with Hope, and even threatened

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 86.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 86. Large Declaration, p. 228, 229.

to deprive him of his office. This produced no effect. He answered, that his place was secured to him by parliament; and the consequence of his resistance was, that an act of council to support the measures of his Majesty could not be procured.*

Conduct of the bishops.

The bishops could not fail to view, with much uneasiness and alarm, the intention so solemnly avowed of bringing them to trial, and of constituting, as their judges, men who not only had predetermined the cause, but were virtually pledged to root out episcopacy from the Scotish church. When therefore they failed in preventing the meeting of the Assembly, instead of obeying the King's summons to attend it, they considered it as a duty to themselves and to the ecclesiastical polity which they supported, to decline its jurisdiction. They accordingly composed a long paper, in which they stated the various causes which prevented them from considering the proposed assembly as legally constituted, and had led them to determine not to sanction it by their presence. Admitting, as they certainly did, that it was competent to the sovereign to summon an assembly, and that this summons was indeed essential to its existence, they endeavoured to extricate themselves from the difficulty occasioned by the King's proclamation, under which the present assembly was held. They urged, that the tables had, previous to the issuing of this pro-

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 92. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 87. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 788.

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clamation, given orders to elect commissioners, and that the members having been elected in consequence of these orders, they were, in fact, not convened by the King; and they strengthened this reason by adding, that, from the part which lay-elders took in the election of commissioners, that election was taken from the clergy, in whom alone it legally resided. Other reasons of less force were adduced, and they then stated their objections to the character and conduct of those before whom they had been summoned. They contended, that most of them were unworthy and incapable of a commission to a free and lawful assembly, because by their seditious railings and sermons they had stirred up the people to rebellion;—because they had shewn themselves enemies to all order in the church, had violated the oaths taken to their ordinaries, and had exercised various unwarrantable powers as ministers of religion;—because they were suspected judges, and might be declined, having pre-condemned episcopal government;—and because they were, in fact, so far as the bishops were concerned, both judges and parties. They also insisted, that it was against reason and the practice of the church, that archbishops and bishops should not be members of General Assemblies, unless elected by presbyteries; and enlarged upon the impropriety of the higher orders of the clergy being judged by the lower. It is not necessary to give more fully the contents of the declinature. It

concluded by protesting, that the Assembly should be imputed, and held as null in law, divine and human; and that therefore no letter or sentence proceeding from it should be in any respect prejudicial to the existing form of religion, or to the prelates, in their persons or estates, authority, jurisdiction, dignity, or reputation. * CHAP. XV. 1638.

Under the circumstances which have been stated, a union of parties could not be expected. Of this the marquis was convinced, and he settled the manner in which his proposals were to be made, with a view to the dissolution of the Assembly, from which he was aware that the royal countenance must soon be withdrawn. He resolved that the gracious offers of his Majesty should be read, that the exceptions to the elections should then be considered, and that the declinature of the bishops should afterwards be produced. † Views of the parties.

The covenanters, on the other hand, had determined to accomplish, by means of the assembly, the schemes upon which they had so long been intent; to regulate their proceedings without regard to the sovereign; and to continue to meet, even although they should, in the name of the King, be commanded to disperse. ‡

* Large Declaration, p. 248—264, where the declinature is given at full length. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 866—872. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 91. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. II. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 168, and Appendix.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 87.

‡ Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 87.

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1638. General Assembly at Glasgow. 21st Nov.

On the twenty-first of November, the General Assembly, for which the covenanters had, by a solemn fast, prepared their adherents, met at Glasgow. The sermon which was preached at the opening of it, directed against the late innovations, and not sparing episcopacy itself, marked the spirit by which it would be distinguished. Immense multitudes, attracted by curiosity, by turbulence, or by religious zeal, flocked to the place in which the Assembly was to be held, and, with the furious insolence which marks popular tumult, kept their station, treating with equal rudeness friends and enemies. The commissioners themselves presented an appearance very different from what might have been expected in a convention summoned to assert the purity of religion, for the clergy had none of the distinguishing badges of their order, whilst many of the lay-elders wore swords and daggers. * There were about two hundred and sixty members, and a number of assessors who claimed no vote, but were entitled to give advice; an Assembly much too numerous for calm discussion. The first day was spent in matters of form, but on the second the temper of the Assembly became apparent. A proposal was made by the leading covenanters to elect a moderator. To this the commissioner objected, alleging, that it was proper previously to ascertain,

* Baillie's History of the Assembly, 1638, in Vol. I. of his Letters, p. 96. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 93. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 844.

by examining the commissions, who had title to vote. This was steadily resisted, and it was resolved, before the scrutiny, to elect; but previous to the election, the declinature of the bishops was presented, with a request that it should be read. To this the faction objected, because the Assembly was not constituted by the choice of a moderator. When Hamilton insisted that the paper should be heard, there arose a tumultuous clamour, with which he was much shocked, and he contented himself with protesting, that the refusal to listen to the declinature was unjust. Henderson, the most able of the ministers, and upon whose judgment his party confidently relied, was then chosen to preside; the marquis merely observing, that this should not prejudge his right to object to the faulty commissions. His protestation against receiving the declinature was opposed by a counter-protestation from the Earl of Rothes, in which that nobleman, using the language of his party, denominated the prelates pretended bishops. On the same day the commissioner requested that six assessors, whom he had appointed to assist him, should be permitted to vote, but this privilege was granted only to one of the number. *

It is unnecessary to follow minutely the transac-

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 98—111. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 99. Large Declaration, p. 237—248. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 20.

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tions of the Assembly whilst the marquis remained. The uniform practice was to refuse him every thing which he required, leaving him to protest and to see how little respect was paid to the wishes or the authority of the King. He thought it his duty to communicate to Charles an account of what was taking place, and what he considered as the forerunner of civil war. He did not conceal from his Majesty, that he must now unsheath the sword,—pointed out what he thought the most effectual mode for reducing the kingdom,—mentioned the names of those counsellors upon whom he could rely,—and bitterly lamented the ambition and the folly of the bishops, to whose imprudence, whilst they possessed influence, he attributed the evils which he deplored. *

28th Nov.

The questions about elections were invariably decided in favour of the covenanters, and the utmost virulence was displayed against the bishops. When the commissioner thus found that he was despised, and the authority of his sovereign trampled under foot, he judged it right, in the King's name, to dissolve the Assembly. Having previously intimated his intention to the council, he took his seat as representative of his Majesty, and when the moderator put the question, Whether, notwithstanding the declinature of the bishops, the Assembly could

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 98, 99. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 847.

pass judgment upon them, he interfered, and, in a long and eloquent speech, lamented the necessity under which their conduct had laid him, to withdraw himself from their meetings. After having ordered the concessions to be read, he dismissed the members, and prohibited all further proceeding under pain of treason. For this the covenanters were fully prepared. They intreated him to remain, but when he persisted in leaving them, they protested and declared, that, notwithstanding his prohibition, they would continue to sit as a free legal Assembly, and would not separate till they had made the arrangements which the state of the church imperiously required. * CHAP. XV. 1638.

In pursuance of this resolution they regularly met, and passed a number of acts, introducing a complete revolution into the church, or rather restoring it to the situation in which it was when James subverted the presbyterian polity. Commencing their attack upon episcopacy, they condemned the six Assemblies by which it had been sanctioned; they declared the oaths which ministers took to their ordinaries unlawful, and ventured to release those who had taken them from the obligation of observing them; they reprobated the obnoxious books, and the High Commission; and 4th Dec.

* Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 112—119. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 101—107. Account of the Assembly, in the Large Declaration. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 847—853, and 851—862. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 40. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 30.

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they finished the demolition of prelacy by excommunicating and deposing the two archbishops, and the greater number of the bishops, degrading even the few of that order against whom they were unwilling to pronounce sentence of excommunication. Eager to vindicate their own interpretation of the negative confession, they decreed that episcopacy had been by it abjured, and required, that the covenant, with this explanatory clause, should be anew subscribed. The five articles of Perth, which had excited, when they were sanctioned, such uneasiness, were also abrogated and removed. Having thus subverted episcopacy, they restored sessions and provincial and national assemblies to their full privileges, liberties, powers, and jurisdictions, as they had been defined by the book of policy, which they regarded as the standard of ecclesiastical government in Scotland. * They likewise passed an ordinance against the civil places and power of churchmen, the object of which was to prevent any of the clerical order from being members of parliament, justices of peace, lords of session, or judges in the Exchequer;—an admirable regulation, directly tending to secure the important ends for which the pastoral office had been instituted, by exempting those who were appointed to instruct

* Printed Acts of General Assembly 1638. Baillie's Hist. of that Assembly, in Vol. I. of his Letters and Journals. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 805, 806. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 110. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 41.

the people from being called to discharge duties which, by exciting the prejudices, or affecting the temporal interest of their hearers, might counteract the efficacy of the great truths, and the elevated precepts of religion. Sensible, however, that, in the state in which the kingdom then was, the interference of the ministers in public affairs was requisite for the good of the church, they turned aside from themselves the application of their own law, by inserting in it, that the church, and the ministers thereof, are obliged to give their advice and counsel concerning the church, or the conscience of any individual, to his Majesty, to the parliament, to the council, or to any member thereof; and upon this ground they probably justified the very active part which some of the most eminent Scotish divines soon took in the great political transactions of the times. *

Remarks upon the revolution accomplished by the Assembly.

If we apply to the transactions which have been recorded, those principles, which, in all regularly constituted governments, must be assumed as incontrovertible, they cannot be defended. An Assembly of the church, destitute of all civil authority, and entitled merely to watch over the purity of faith, forgetting or disregarding its own province, sets aside the most solemn enactments of the legislature,

* Acts of Assembly 1638. See a remark upon this subject in Burnet's Memoirs, p. 143, arising from Henderson, who was moderator of the Assembly, signing a paper certainly civil and political.

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—divests of their dignity a class of men who had been recognized by the law of the land as members of the estates,—despises the suggestions and injunctions of the sovereign,—and not only, in direct opposition to his will, continues its existence, but overturns what parliament alone could constitutionally alter or remove. * If such conduct were in ordinary cases justifiable, no government could enjoy a moment's security; there would, in fact, be one government within another, the collisions of which no prudence could prevent. A religious community may be tolerated or established, but, in both cases, it owes to the country in which it subsists submission to legal authority; it may represent what it reprobates as oppression, and endeavour to render its views those of the state, but if it is upon imaginary danger to religion to assume the sword of the civil magistrate, it becomes the engine of rebellion, and converts the doctrines which are admirably adapted to cement the social union, into the most powerful means of effecting its dissolution.

But it must be remembered, that the covenanters lived under very peculiar circumstances. Scotland had not for a long period enjoyed the internal tranquillity which leads to a just estimate of the importance of that reverence for order which in free countries should be carefully cherished. The struggles for introducing the reformation were soon suc-

* Large Declaration, p. 424, 425.

ceeded by civil dissension; the people were alienated from sovereigns who were adverse to the popular faith, and they considered the disputes about doctrines and ecclesiastical polity as implicating the most valuable rights. When James, who had been placed on the throne by the reformers, unwisely followed measures supposed to originate from hostility to their tenets, there seemed to be the same call for resistance which during the reign of his mother had been obeyed; and Charles inflamed apprehensions which he should have anxiously dissipated. He introduced or countenanced institutions which were most justly held in abhorrence; and he supported prelates who were careless of the duties which they should have performed, and sunk tenderness for their flocks in anxiety to promote the arbitrary schemes of the court. The covenanters thus did not, in the midst of contentment and peace, raise the standard of insurrection; but following precedents afforded by the history of Scotland, and reaching to their own days, they identified their case with the preservation of civil and religious liberty, only carrying on the contest by which these blessings had been acquired. That they were often swayed by private motives, very different from those by which they professed to be actuated, cannot be doubted: but they could not have resisted the King as they actually did, had they not been aided by those feelings and sentiments, to the noble display of which their country was indebted for the refor-

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mation, and the political blessings which that interesting event had happily imparted. These observations are necessary to prevent an erroneous estimate of the principles or the conduct of the covenanters; they shew that they ought not to be regarded as tumultuary rebels, but as men who, though often mistaken and often violent, acted from a general regard to national good, and from the desire to establish a government invariably contemplating the liberty and happiness of those to whom it extended its protection.

Subsidiary regulations of the Assembly, throwing light upon the character of the times.

Having mentioned those great changes which the Assembly, after the departure of the commissioner, introduced into the church, it is proper, before dismissing the account of it, to record a few subsidiary regulations which entitle it to admiration, or expose it to censure. The members, warm as was their zeal, and heated as were their passions, kept steadily in view what seemed to them calculated to give efficacy to the new establishment, and to secure that dissemination of religious principle which has happily taken place in Scotland. They renewed the provisions of a former Assembly, relating to the diligence and the exemplary conduct of ministers; they insisted upon the residence of the clergy, a point which no church should for a moment cast out of sight; and in the same spirit which so honourably distinguished Knox and the illustrious men who supported him, they shewed the utmost solicitude for the promotion of learning, earnestly re-

commending, even in the most sequestered situations, the erection of schools, and explicitly asserting, that, for want of such institutions, the best interests of religion materially suffered. 1638.

But whilst these admirable regulations ought not to be concealed, it is no less proper to observe, that, in the whole proceedings of the Assembly, there was a rapid approach to that intolerance which makes its own principles the infallible criterion of truth, and despises or persecutes all who cannot embrace these principles. In the decisions against episcopacy there was a harshness which cannot be reconciled with the beneficence and gentleness of the gospel; in their language with regard to the bishops, there is a vehemence of abhorrence which gives too much reason to conclude, that they would not have shrunk from directing against the prelates the arm of civil power; and we shall soon still more distinctly trace the increasing energy of the bigotry which looks upon persecution almost as a sacred duty. Over one act of this Assembly, as affording a striking indication of contracted sentiment, it is impossible to pass. The covenanters were much indebted for their influence to the representations, which, by means of the press, they conveyed to the people; and thus sensible of the importance of this mode of impressing truth, they should not have tamely controlled its operation. * Yet did they, by virtue of

* Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 157.

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their ecclesiastical authority, ordain, that no printers within the kingdom should print any confession of faith, any treatise relating to the controversies or divisions which then existed, or any other treatise whatever which concerned the church of Scotland and God's cause, without the warrant of one of their own devoted adherents; thus making an individual the judge of what it was safe to communicate, and investing him with the power of arresting the stream of knowledge. When we consider in what state the public mind at this time was, the violence of the clergy and the covenanters, and the value which they attached to opinions now happily consigned to oblivion, we shall form some conception of the evil which would have resulted had this act been strictly carried into execution, and had religious and political research flowed solely in the channel which was now opened. There is here presented one of the many instances which occur in history of the inconsistency of human conduct. Had the King or the bishops acted as the covenanters in this respect did; had they suppressed every work hostile to prelacy and the opinions associated with it, how loudly would they have been reprobated by their opponents, as declaring war against the cause of truth and of religion. Yet the moment that the people who [illegible] have thus complained ascend to the pinnacle of power, they proscribe every effort to examine their tenets by the test of reason or the principles of revelation. How grateful should we

be that freedom of discussion is now not only tolerated, but encouraged; that it is almost universally admitted that truth need not shrink from the most scrupulous examination; and that what cannot be defended should not be believed. * CHAP. XV. 1638.

The church of Scotland, though now, in as far as ecclesiastical power could effect the change, strictly presbyterian in discipline and doctrine, was in the eye of the law still episcopal; there were statutes in favour of episcopacy, which parliament alone could State of the church.

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1638. Large Declaration, p. 323. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 149, seems to have been shocked with the act, and endeavours to explain away its obnoxious import. "Our meaning," he says, "in the act of printing, is to give to our clerk the inspection alone of such treatises as concern the church-registers. However some words of the act sounds farther, yet, I think, the youth understands no more; and if he took a universal superintendency of our presses, it would soon be remedied."—How far this sense can be admitted, let an extract from the ordinance determine. "The Assembly, considering the great prejudice which God's church in this land hath sustained these years by-past, by the unwarranted printing of libels, pamphlets, and polemicks, to the disgrace of religion, slander of the gospel, infecting and disquieting the minds of God's people, and disturbance of the peace of the church—by virtue of their ecclesiastical authority, dischargeth and inhibiteth all printers within this kingdom, to print any act of the former assemblies; any of the acts or proceedings of this assembly; any confession of faith any protestation; any reasons *pro* or *contra*, anent the present divisions and controversies of this time; or any other treatise whatsoever, which may concern the church of Scotland, or God's cause in hand." It is impossible to believe, that men abundantly capable of expressing themselves with precision, could mean nothing more by this, than to regulate the inspection of treatises concerning church-registers. Baillie, I am afraid, here justifies his friends at the expence of his integrity.

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rescind; but according to the institutions of the new polity religious instruction was administered. There were thus sown the seeds of contest; for nothing but necessity could induce the King to lay his prerogative at the feet of an usurping ecclesiastical judicatory, or could, on the other hand, reconcile the people to the continuance of episcopacy, now unhappily regarded as little less inconsistent with the purity of Christianity than Popery itself.

Conclusion of the Assembly. 20th Dec.

When the ministers and elders had finished what they conceived to be requisite for the good of religion, they solemnly asserted the right which the church had derived from divine and civil warrants, to hold Assemblies annually, or oftener if occasion should arise. They concluded by voting what they denominated a humble supplication to the King's most excellent Majesty, in which they lamented the departure of his commissioner, expressed their conviction, that, had he remained, he would have approved their proceedings; solicited the King's sanction of their different acts; and thus terminated, in language which might have been used by the most loyal subjects, and which affords some presumption, that, by cautious policy on the part of the crown, their hearts might have been gained: "We humbly beg, and certainly expect, that from the bright beams of your Majesty's countenance, shining on this your Majesty's own kingdom and people, all our storms shall be changed into a comfortable calm and sweet sunshine, and that your Majesty's

ratification in the ensuing parliament shall settle us in such a firmness and stability in our religion, as shall add a further lustre unto your Majesty's glorious diadem, and make us a blessed people under your Majesty's long and prosperous reign, which we beseech him who hath directed us in our affairs, and by whom kings reign, to grant unto your Majesty, to the admiration of all the world, the astonishment of your enemies, and comfort of the godly." * 1638. 20th Dec.

After the Marquis of Hamilton left the Assembly, he went to Edinburgh, and issued a long proclamation, in which he officially announced to the nation his dissolution of that supreme ecclesiastical judicatory, and the reasons upon which he proceeded, intimating, that all who continued to attend at Glasgow were traitors. He dispersed copies of the proclamation through the kingdom, hoping that it would have some effect upon all who were eager to avoid extremities; and he at the same time encouraged those whose loyalty had been shaken, to return to their duty, by promising, that they should receive the favour, and experience the goodness of the King. All this, however, made no impression. The people, inflamed with the ardour of patriotic and religious zeal, had fixed their eyes upon the Assembly, and few were disposed to listen to the 17th Dec. The Marquis of Hamilton returns to London.

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1638. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 149. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 111.

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immediate minister of a monarch, in whose sincerity they did not confide, and who, they knew, was hostile to their favourite principles of ecclesiastical polity. Several of the principal covenanters having come from Glasgow to protest against any proclamation, the commissioner endeavoured to renew a treaty with them, but his advances were treated with such mortifying neglect, that his patience was exhausted, and he desisted. *

His agitation of mind occasioned by the rudeness and violence of the faction, by the melancholy prospect which every day became more gloomy, and by his conviction, that the failure of the measures which he had recommended would be attributed to coldness in his master's service, combined with severe bodily exertion, and the fatigue of a most extensive and painful correspondence, affected his health, and he was for some time detained in Scotland by indisposition; but upon his recovery, he hastened to court, to lay before his Majesty an account of all which had happened, and to concert means for reducing to obedience men whom he considered as having virtually renounced their allegiance. † The issue indeed was no longer doubtful; and we shall now have shortly to detail the

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 110, 111. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 129. For the proclamation and the protest, see the Large Declaration, and Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 875—881.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 111. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 117. Sanderson's reign of Charles I. p. 246. Large Declaration, p. 402. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. p. 882.

progress and the effects of civil discord, keeping chiefly in view the influence which these had upon the state of religion, or the part which the church took in advising and conducting the schemes conceived to be essential for its security or its existence.

CHAPTER SIXTEENTH.

Proceedings in consequence of the Assembly....Preparations for war....Precautions and measures of the Covenanters....They are supported by the Earl of Argyll.... State of the Armies....Proposals for Negociation....Progress and conclusion of a Treaty....Remarks upon the Treaty....The King not sincere....The Earl of Traquair appointed Commissioner...General Assembly....The King's Commissioner subscribes the Covenant....Act of Assembly respecting subscription...The King dissatisfied with the conduct of his Commissioner....Conclusion of the Assembly....Meeting of Parliament...The Earl of Traquair goes to Court....Death and Character of Archbishop Spottiswoode....Commissioners from Scotland sent to London....Earl of Loudon committed to the Tower.... Covenanters prepare for hostilities....Encouraged by the state of England....A parliament in Scotland....Return of the Earl of Loudon....General Assembly at Aberdeen....Commencement of Hostilities....Success of the Covenanters....Their conduct....Distressed situation of the King.

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1639. Proceedings in consequence of the Assembly.

The acts of the Assembly at Glasgow were held by all who venerated the authority by which they were enacted, as the ecclesiastical law of the kingdom, and the church judicatories immediately began to carry them into execution. They deposed

many of the ministers who were not cordial in supporting the covenant, and in their enmity to episcopacy, thus involving them in much distress, and affording a precedent, the application of which they had afterwards cause to lament. The supplication voted at the conclusion of the Assembly was, by the Marquis of Hamilton, presented to the King, but his Majesty was deeply offended, and declined returning the answer which was solicited. * 1639. January.

During the negotiations which have been recorded, neither party believed that war would be finally avoided. The Marquis had uniformly urged the King to hasten his preparations, and this counsel was earnestly enforced, so early as December, by Laud. This was perfectly known to the covenanters, and they had not neglected to take the steps which intelligence so alarming naturally suggested. † Even before the commissioner came into Scotland, they had purchased arms and ammunition in foreign countries; and his Majesty had sent agents to these countries to put a stop to what so clearly indicated the hostile designs of his people. ‡ Preparations for war.

What however had been hitherto secretly conducted, was now openly avowed. The King determined to raise an army, and he issued for this pur-

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 112. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 88, and 150. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 43. Rushworth's Collections, Vol II. p. 882.

† Baillie, Vol. I. p. 70, 72, and 80. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 82, and 108. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 29.

‡ Burnet's Memoirs, p. 53.

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pose the necessary orders. He privately concer with his most faithful counsellors his plan of operations, and he appointed the Marquis of Huntly to act as his lieutenant in Scotland, giving him instructions how he was to co-operate. The Earl of Arundel was named as general of the forces; the Earl of Essex, afterwards so distinguished by his command of the parliamentary troops, was chosen to be Lieutenant General; and the cavalry was entrusted to the Earl of Holland. In letters, summoning the nobility to attend the King's person and standard at York, by the first of April, they were informed, that the preparations in Scotland by the covenanters called upon his Majesty to provide for the defence and safety of England, and that he had resolved to repair to the northern parts of the kingdom, that, by the help of Almighty God, and the assistance of his subjects, he might resist invasion. It was not till this exigency of his affairs, that he submitted to the council at large the situation of Scotland. Hitherto, he had confined the deliberations respecting that part of his dominions to a few, and little concern was taken in its tranquillity or its happiness. The greatest difficulty which the King experienced was, to provide money for the unavoidable expence of a campaign. He had long ceased to have recourse to parliament for supplies, and the revenue, which, by the exertion of his prerogative, he extorted, was not more than sufficient for a season of tranquillity, which England had for some

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years enjoyed. The clergy, who took a peculiar interest in support of the hierarchy, readily and largely contributed, and by some other methods to which he had recourse, his treasury was for a season replenished. After having published a declaration of the reasons which had led him to unsheath the sword, he left London at the head of a numerous and finely appointed army, and, attended by many of the nobility, he, on the day which he had specified, reached York. He also equipped a fleet to co-operate with the loyal party in Scotland, and the Marquis of Hamilton was entrusted with the command. * CHAP. XVI. 1639. March 27, and April 1.

The covenanters, fully apprized of the designs which were executing against them, took every precaution which zeal combined with prudence could suggest. With admirable address they exerted themselves to remove all prejudices against their cause which might be entertained in England, and even to induce the English to identify with its success the preservation of their own liberties. They industriously circulated an account of the manner in which they had acted; declared that they were warmly attached to the King; that nothing but the necessity of guarding their civil and religious privi- Precautions and measures of the Covenanters.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 113, 114, 116, 117, and 121—124. Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 90—93. Franklyn's Annals, p. 766, 777. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 151., Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 30. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 885, 886. Laud's Diary, quoted by Rushworth.

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leges, could have led them to resist his authority; and they gave the most explicit assurances, that they had no intention, as had been surmised, of invading England. These addresses made a deep impression. The Scotch were by many regarded with pity; and not a few even of the higher ranks were so convinced that they were struggling for the best interests of their country, as to be averse from measures taken to reduce them to subjection.*

To stimulate the people in Scotland, the utmost care was taken to inculcate, that defence, or resistance, was in some circumstances a duty, and that, in their case, to hesitate about having recourse to arms, would be virtually to submit to the most galling despotism. The ministers, always listened to with deference, proclaimed from their pulpits the danger which threatened religion,—taught, that if their hearers did not quit themselves as men, they might expect popery and bondage,—denounced all who went not out to help the angel of the Lord against the mighty, and roused the spirit of independence, by representing it as the intention of their enemies to reduce Scotland to a province of England. The effect of all this was a steady resolution to die for the cause which they were invited to defend: and committees of war having been appointed

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 116. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 94. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 151. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 30.

for every shire to enroll soldiers, immense multitudes intreated that they might be accepted. *

1639. They are supported by the Earl of Argyll.

The decided manner in which the Earl of Argyll now declared for the covenanters greatly promoted their views. He had withdrawn from the council after the Marquis of Hamilton dissolved the Assembly; had cordially joined in the extirpation of episcopacy; and had refused an invitation from the King, who saw the importance of detaching him from the presbyterian faction. His immense influence over his numerous adherents, combined with the decency of his manners, the calmness of his temper, and the piety by which he professed to be actuated, rendered his aid of vast moment; and he did not dissemble his approbation of the vigorous measures which the enemies of the court devised and executed. † Declining to avail themselves of the assistance of foreign powers, which they had good reason to expect, or even to join with France, whose disgust at Charles would have led to a union, they resolved to trust to their own followers. They displayed unwearied activity in furnishing themselves with military stores; they counteracted the attempts of those who were attached to the King; they took the Marquis of Huntly prisoner; invited from abroad officers who had served under the King of

* Baillie, Vol. I. p. 89, 90, and p. 151—153. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 114, 115. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 43, 44.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 106 and 109. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 119, 120, and 165.

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of Sweden, a prince who about this period had attracted many Scotchmen to his standard; they prevailed upon Leslie, of the family of Leven, a man who, by long service in Germany, had acquired much experience in the art of war, to assist them with his advice, and to command their army; and they wrested from the feeble garrisons, which shrunk from a contest, the forts and castles which the King should have secured. *

State of the armies.

Notwithstanding these preparations, hostilities were delayed. The Marquis of Hamilton, who, with his fleet and army, had sailed to the Frith of Forth, commenced a kind of negociation with the covenanters; in vain endeavoured to obtain their consent that a declaration from the King should be read in Edinburgh; and, either from want of military talents, or from aversion to kindle the flames of war in his native country, remained so inactive as to strengthen the suspicions of his secret attachment to the party which he professed to oppose. †

May.

The King's army at York, although formidable in appearance, was soon found to be lukewarm in

* Baillie, Vol. I. Letter Eleventh, from p. 150 to 163, in which much information respecting the state of affairs is contained. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 114—118. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 906—908. Clarendon. Vol. I. p. 90. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 44—46.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 124—139, compared with Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 96, and Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 30. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 163—166.

the royal cause. Much dissension prevailed, and a part of it was even disposed to favour the Scotish claims. After some manifestation of this spirit, his Majesty marched towards Berwick; and he sent forward a detachment under the Earl of Holland to attack Leslie, who was then encamped in a favourable situation near the borders. Holland, little skilled in the science of war, and hostile to that extent of prerogative which Charles wished to be attached to the crown, made an ignominious retreat, thus discouraging his own troops, and raising the spirits and confidence of the enemy. *

CHAP. XVI. 1639. 3d June.

The state of the Scotish army presented a striking contrast to that of the King. Composed of men in the vigour of life, and devoted to their leaders, they were eager to follow them to the field, and the most judicious methods were adopted to prevent the decay of their zeal. At the door of each captain's tent a new colour was displayed, upon which were the arms of Scotland, with these words in golden letters,—"For Christ's crown and covenant;" the most popular ministers, in military array, though exempted from all duty inconsistent with their profession, frequented the camp; sermons calculated to animate and enflame, were regularly delivered; prayers were offered to God for

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 94, 95, who erroneously says that this affair took place in August. It happened in June. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 39. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part II. p. 935, 936. Franklyn's Annals, p. 774. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 30.

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the success of what was styled his own cause; the audience were assured that hitherto they had been conducted by a divine hand; and from these religious exercises they retired with that intrepid fortitude which glowed in the breasts of the martyrs for the truth. Whilst the men were thus roused, Leslie, despicable in bodily appearance, and not distinguished by splendid rank, with admirable prudence subjected to his orders the turbulent spirits of the nobles whom he commanded, receiving from them the reverence which their ancestors had paid even to the sovereign. *

Proposals for negociation.

Yet, with all these advantages, there was no desire in the leaders of the covenanters rashly to engage with the forces of his Majesty. With wonderful caution they continued to hold the language of moderation; they addressed to the monarch the most submissive supplications; and declared, that if he would grant the rights which they conceived to be their inheritance, they would joyfully lay aside their arms, and encircle his throne. These professions filled the English with amazement, and not only removed prejudice, but conveyed to them ideas which they fondly cherished; they saw that their neighbours were contending for liberty similar to that, the loss of which they had themselves de-

* Baillie, Vol. I. p. 174—177, has given a very interesting description of the appearance and temper of the army, which he himself attended. See also the same work, Vol. I. p. 177, 178, for the address of Leslie.

plored: and that if they assisted in subduing those patriotic bands, they would cast into the graves of the vanquished all hope, that the grievances becoming daily more intolerable, would be redressed. The covenanters were eager to deepen these impressions, and to convince their opponents that both nations were equally interested in limiting the prerogative; and they justly concluded, that this effect would most certainly be produced by apparent reluctance to unsheath the sword. Had they rushed into action, the sense of national character would have overcome or suspended the discontent which prevailed in England, and all ranks would have united in resisting the invaders. In pecuniary resources also the covenanters were deficient; their own domains could not afford them, and a small supply which had been obtained from France was nearly exhausted. Under these circumstances, they wisely resolved to attempt a negociation at a time when Holland's enterprize had raised them in the estimation of the enemy. They accordingly sent the Earl of Dunfermline to the royal camp, and he carried with him a supplication, in which they implored that his Majesty would appoint some worthy men of the kingdom of England, well affected to the true religion, and to the common peace of both nations, to meet with a few of their number of the same dispositions, that, by mutual conference upon their wants and his Majesty's pleasure, the two kingdoms might be kept in peace and happiness, for

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which, they added, that they would never cease, as faithful subjects, earnestly to pray. He was also the bearer of letters to the English council, intreating a speedy answer. *

The earl was received with the utmost graciousness, and Charles determined immediately to commence a negociation. To this resolution he was led by many powerful reasons. The distracted state of his army had early attracted his notice; he discovered that many in whom he had confided were partial to the Scotch; and he was warmly and repeatedly advised by his friends not to hazard an engagement, lest his own forces should not prove faithful. †

Progress and conclusion of a treaty.

Before, however, entering upon a treaty, he required, for saving his honour, that the proclamation which the Marquis of Hamilton had carried to Scotland, but which the lords would not permit to be read in Edinburgh, should be published to the army. It was accordingly read with much apparent reverence at the general's table, and this having been considered as sufficient, a deputation of the covenanters was invited to come to the tent of the Earl of Arundel, and to enter upon the import-

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 97. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 30. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. part 2, p. 938. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 179, and p. 182, 183. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 49, 50.

† Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 97, 98. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 132, 140, and 143. Sanderson's Hist. of the Reign of Charles I. p. 250, 251.

ant business which had been proposed. The parties had no sooner entered than they were joined by the King; and although the Scotish commissioners affected to feel the utmost joy, they probably viewed the royal presence as rather calculated to prevent that freedom of deliberation which had been expected. Various conferences were held; and it deserves to be mentioned, as a proof how much ecclesiastical affairs were implicated with civil arrangements, that Henderson, of whom mention has already been made, was one of the number to whom, on the part of the faction, the negociations were committed.* After much discussion, in the course of which the King announced his determination not to ratify the proceedings of the Assembly at Glasgow, and the commissioners stated their resolution not to annul them, it was at length agreed, that, for settling the distractions of his Majesty's ancient kingdom, a free General Assembly, at which Charles then intended to be present, should be held at Edinburgh in the beginning of August, and a parliament within a fortnight after. When the King subscribed these concessions, both parties agreed to disband their forces, and the covenanters stipulated that they should deliver up to his Majesty the different castles which they had seized.†

1639.

June 18.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 140. Baillie, Vol. I, p. 180.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 141—143. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 182. Guth.

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1639. Remarks upon the treaty.

When intelligence was brought to the Scotish camp that the treaty was concluded, many of the nobility and chief adherents to the covenant were highly gratified. They saw that they were thus extricated from difficulties respecting the subsistence of the troops, which were daily becoming more formidable, and they anticipated the King's sanction of all which they were eager to acquire. Some, however, did not conceal that they were discontented. They complained that the treaty had been too hastily framed; that it had been negotiated without the whole body having been properly consulted; and they particularly lamented that the strong-holds were to be surrendered. It probably was to remove this murmuring, and to prevent the dissension which might have arisen had it not been checked, that the commissioners produced what they represented as concessions made by the King in the course of the various interviews with which they had been favoured, and as of equal validity with the articles which had been formally subscribed. They also protested, that they had not relinquished the Covenant or the Assembly, in which they had so lately triumphed. This conduct was loudly condemned by the royalists, who stigmatized the paper of concessions as a forgery, and ordered it to be ignominiously committed to the flames by the hands

rie's Memoirs, p. 50. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 98. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 938—946.

of the common executioner. Yet the covenanters adhered to what they had themselves promised, for they disbanded their army, burned their encampment, and permitted the persons sent by the King to take possession of the castle of Edinburgh, and of the other fortresses. Some of their officers they did indeed retain, and probably so arranged their measures as that, were it necessary, they might soon anew be prepared for defence; but this caution the state of the country required, and, had the conditions of the treaty been faithfully fulfilled, no evil consequence could have resulted from it. * 1639.

To the King the issue of this treaty was most unfortunate. Immediately upon its being subscribed he dismissed his army, and, either from his irritation at the disposition which they had manifested, —from chagrin at conceding so much to subjects whom he viewed as guilty of rebellion,—or from that coldness of manner which he unhappily possessed, he did so in such a way as mortified and offended them, and prevented them from having any desire again to repair to his standard. The Earl of Essex, who, with the high honour of a soldier, had uniformly remained inflexible in his duty, received no mark of royal attention or gratitude, and a trifling favour which Charles soon after had it in his

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 143, 144, and 162. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 98, 99. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 182, 183. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 50, 51. Guthrie's Hist. of Scotland, Vol. IX. p. 286—288.

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power to bestow, was harshly refused. This alienated a mind which might have been attached by the noblest ties, and afterwards induced Essex to draw his sword in defence of the parliament. *

The concessions made to the covenanters also increased the discontent which was rapidly spreading in England, because they shewed how much might be gained by steady opposition to the arbitrary maxims and designs of the court. †

The King not sincere.

The King having consented that a General Assembly and a Parliament should be held, ought to have acted towards his discontented subjects with the most scrupulous integrity. Yet it is certain that he contemplated with abhorrence the abolition of episcopacy, and was determined, if ever he regained sufficient power, to restore that form of ecclesiastical polity. After the pacification he invited fourteen of the chief presbyterians to come to him, under the pretence of consulting with them about the measures to be adopted, but really in the hope that he would prevail upon them to restrain the violence which he dreaded from their adherents. This invitation filled the whole body with apprehension, and they refused to accept of it; but, that they might not appear to despise the requisition of their sovereign, they sent to him three from each estate. The Earls of Montrose, Loudon, and Lothian, represented the nobility. They commu-

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 99. † Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 101.

nicated to the Marquis of Hamilton the measures which they intended to sanction in the ensuing parliament; but what renders this conference peculiarly memorable, is the impression which was made upon Montrose. Hitherto he had been zealous for the covenant, but he now changed, and resolved to employ his talents for promoting the royal cause. The other two remained firm to their party. * 1639.

The King having relinquished his intention of being present at the Assembly and Parliament, and the Marquis of Hamilton having declined the office of commissioner, the Earl of Traquair was appointed to represent his Majesty, and received instructions to guide his conduct in the delicate task which he had to perform. One of these instructions plainly shews what were the private designs of the sovereign. After having permitted him to consent to various points which it was necessary to concede, this injunction was given. "After all Assembly business is ended, you shall, in the fairest way you can, protest, that, in respect of his Majesty's resolution of not coming in person, and that his instructions to you were upon short advertisement, whereupon many things may have occurred wherein you have not had his Majesty's pleasure,—therefore, and for such other reasons as occasion may furnish, you are to protest, that, in case any thing hath escaped

The Earl of Traquair appointed commissioner. 27th July.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 148, 149. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 184, 185. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 948, 949. Montrose's Memoirs, Edinburgh edition, 1756, p. 1, 2.

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you, or hath been condescended upon in this present Assembly, prejudicial to his Majesty's service, his Majesty may be heard for redress thereof in his own time and place." Under this plea it is evident that he might have objected to every thing which was done. The slightest departure from his intentions might have been urged as authorizing him, when he found it expedient, to vindicate his prerogative. But his resolution, never without compulsion to relinquish episcopacy, is most unequivocally expressed in his correspondence with the Scotish prelates. When they heard of the indiction of an Assembly, they intreated the King that neither it nor the parliament should be held. In reply to this, he addressed to them, through the primate, a letter, in which he mentioned the necessity of calling an Assembly; but he assured them that it should still be one of his chief studies to rectify and establish the government of that church aright, and to repair their losses. He advised them to give to the commissioner a protestation against the Assembly and Parliament, not to be discussed, but to be transmitted to himself; he promised to take it so into consideration as became a prince sensible of his own honour joined with the equity of their desires; and bade them rest secure, that, although he might give way for the present to that which would be prejudicial both to the church and his government, yet he would not leave thinking how to remedy both. He here throws aside his reserve,

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shewing that he looked to a period when all which he had granted might be revoked. His order to the bishops to protest, with the advice that this instrument should be sent to him, arose from his secret conviction that, without their presence, both the assembly and the parliament were informal and illegal, and that the production of their remonstrance would warrant him at some future time to set aside all which might be enacted. This indeed was constantly present to his mind, and made him more readily acquiesce in the terms granted to the covenanters. When, soon after the treaty, he was lamenting the impending ruin of episcopacy, Traquair suggested to him the evasion which has now been stated; he eagerly caught at it; and he signed the instructions to his commissioner under the impression, that although he was promising to his subjects what he never intended that they should enjoy, he was not deviating from that strict honour which shrunk from his duplicity. *

1639. 6th Aug.

Upon the twelfth of August, a few days after the one fixed in the treaty, the General Assembly met at Edinburgh. The bishops, as had been concerted, did not attend, but followed the directions which they had received. The preliminary forms having been observed, the covenanters, who, agreeably to the wishes of Traquair, made no allusion to

12th Aug. General Assembly.

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 149, and p. 151, compared with p. 154. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. III. folio, in life of Spottiswoode, p. 167—168. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part II. p. 949—953.

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the obnoxious Assembly at Glasgow, proceeded to re-enact what in it had been sanctioned. An act was framed, entitled, "An Act containing the Causes and Remedy of the bygone evils of this Church." The evils were stated to be, 1. The pressing of this church by the prelates with a service-book or book of common-prayer, without warrant or direction from the church, and containing, beside the popish form thereof, divers popish errors and ceremonies; with a book of canons establishing a tyrannical power over the church in the persons of the bishops; with a book of consecration and ordination, and with the high commission. 2. The five articles of Perth. 3. The changing of the government of the church from the assemblies of the church to the persons of some churchmen, usurping priority and power over their brethren, under the name of episcopal government. 4. The civil places and power of churchmen; their sitting in session, council, and exchequer; their riding, sitting, and voting in parliament; and their sitting on the bench as justices of peace. The keeping and authorizing corrupt assemblies at Linlithgow in 1606 and 1608, at Glasgow in 1610, at Aberdeen in 1616, at St Andrews in 1617, and at Perth in 1618. Lastly, The want of free lawful General Assemblies, rightly constituted of pastors, doctors, and elders, yearly or oftener. After this enumeration, the whole assembly with one heart and voice did declare, that these, and such other, proceeding from the neglect and

breach of the national covenant of this church and kingdom, made in 1580, have been indeed the true and main causes of all our evils and distractions; and therefore did ordain, that the foresaid service-book, books of canons and ordination, and the high commission, be still rejected; that the articles of Perth be no more practised; that episcopal government and the civil places and power of churchmen be held as unlawful in this church; that the Assemblies mentioned should hereafter be accounted as null and of none effect; and that, for preservation of religion, and preventing all such evils in time coming, General Assemblies, rightly constituted, should, as the proper and competent judge of all matters ecclesiastical, hereafter be kept yearly and oftener, *pro re nata*, as occasion and necessity shall require, the necessity of these occasional Assemblies being first shewn to his Majesty by humble supplication; as also, that church sessions, presbyteries, and synodal assemblies, be constituted and observed according to the order of the church. When the act had passed, the commissioner verbally consented to it, promising that it should be ratified by him in the ensuing parliament; and within a few days he officially intimated his consent, and subscribed the ordinance. He subjoined, however, a declaration, that what had been done should not infer censure on the practices out of the kingdom; thus intending to have it determined that episcopacy was prohibited, not as unlawful, but as contrary to the

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ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland. His object was perceived by the covenanters; and although they permitted the declaration to be inserted, they carefully abstained from giving, with respect to the subject of it, any pledge or opinion. *

30th Aug.

The next interesting matter which engrossed the attention of the Assembly, was the subscription of the covenant, which the presbyterians considered as the bulwark of their privileges, and as having brought on them the blessing of heaven. Eager to obtain for it the approbation of government, they addressed a supplication to Traquair and the lords of the council, that it might be subscribed by all his Majesty's subjects; and, that there might be no suspicions of disloyalty, they composed an explanation, in which they declared that they never had any thought of withdrawing themselves from that humble and dutiful obedience to his Majesty and to his government, which by the descent and under the reign of 107 kings is most cheerfully acknowledged by us and our predecessors; and they then added, "We have solemnly sworn, and do swear, not only our mutual concurrence and assistance for the cause of religion, and to the uttermost of our power with our means and lives to stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, his person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, liberties, and laws of this church and king-

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1639, p. 2—4, and p. 13.

dom, but also in every cause which may concern his Majesty's honour, shall, according to the laws of this kingdom, and the duties of good subjects, concur with our friends and followers, in quiet manner or in arms, as we shall be required of his Majesty, his council, or any having authority." *

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Traquair must have been perplexed by this supplication. He knew the antipathy with which the covenant was regarded by the King, who had said that, whilst it was in force, he had no more power than a duke of Venice; and he must have hesitated about giving to what was so obnoxious the royal sanction. Yet he determined to comply with the petition of the Assembly, guarding the compliance with the observation, that the King considered the confession as the same with that which had been signed by his father. To this he was led partly by the loyal sentiments with which the request was accompanied, and probably still more by his own idea that the great object was to restore tranquillity; after which the ground that had been yielded might be gradually reclaimed. He was also sensible, that, if he resisted, every thing was lost: and he trusted that this would justify him in the estimation of his sovereign. † He accordingly replied to the petition when it was privately presented to him, that it should be granted; and, on the same day, he intimated this from his place as the repre-

The Commissioner subscribes the covenant.

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1639, p. 10.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 46, 56, 149, 157, and 159, compared.

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sentative of his Majesty, declaring, that he and the other lords of the council had found the request so fair and reasonable, that they conceived themselves obliged in duty to grant the same, and had made an act of council to that effect, so that nothing was wanting but the resolution of the Assembly. He then mentioned what he was to prefix to his subscription as the King's commissioner, observing, however, that of this neither he nor any other subject should be at liberty to take advantage. The Assembly immediately ordained, that the confession of faith and covenant should be subscribed by all ranks, prefixing to their subscription these words: "The article of the covenant which was at the first subscription referred to the determination of the Assembly being determined, and thereby the five articles of Perth, the government of the church by bishops, the civil places and power of churchmen, upon the reasons and grounds contained in the acts of the General Assembly, declared to be unlawful within this church, we subscribe according to the determination foresaid." The intelligence that the covenant had been subscribed by the commissioner excited the liveliest joy; and the ministers from their pulpits declared their admiration of his conduct. *

Act of Assembly respecting the subscription of the covenant.

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1639, p. 10—14. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 158. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 31. I have in my possession one of the original copies of the Confession and Covenant, which had been subscribed by a number of the nobility after the Assembly

This ordinance, so popular throughout the kingdom, was in fact an engine of severe persecution. It required, by authority, from all ranks of men, and particularly from those whose opinions were suspected, subscription to a number of propositions, about which multitudes must have been totally ignorant, and to maxims respecting ecclesiastical polity, which it is impossible to suppose were not

at Glasgow, written, as all the copies were, on strong parchment, in a beautiful old hand. It expressly mentions the Assembly at Glasgow, and its interpretation of the Covenant. After, however, Traquair subscribed in name of the Sovereign, and it was agreed to make no allusion to the Glasgow Assembly, from unwillingness, I suppose, to write another copy, or from the difficulty of again procuring the signature of so many of the nobles, the person to whom the business had been committed, inserted, in a different hand, at the conclusion of the original title, "and now subscribed again, anno 1639, by ordinance of his Majesty's High Commissioner, and the Lords of Secret Council, and by act of the General Assembly;" and at the end, immediately before the names, the clause in the act of Assembly above quoted, which is nearly a repetition of what was at first inserted, with the omission of Glasgow. A marginal note is attached to this interpolation. "This was after the Assembly at Edinburgh, where the Earl of Traquair was commissioner for his Majesty, 1639." The names attached are, Leslie, Dunfermline, Wemyss, Argyll, Mar, Yester, Rothes, Lyndesay, Eglintoun, Montgomerie, Wigtoun, Balmerino, Montrose, Dalhousie, Cassilis, Forrester, Boyd, Elcho, Loudoun, Angus, Fleming, Sinclair, Carnegie, Cranstoun, Burgley, and Gray. For this document, which, as exhibiting the hand writing of so many of our ancient nobility, is certainly a curiosity, I am indebted to my worthy friend the Rev. James Trail of St Cyrus, who has furnished me with other materials, of which I have availed myself in composing this work. Since writing the first part of this note, I have been favoured by Archibald Constable, Esq. with another original copy of the Covenant.

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condemned by numbers, who, having for many years lived in communion with an episcopal church, could not be persuaded that such a church was unlawful. So long as signing the covenant was a voluntary expression of attachment to a particular cause, much might have been said in its justification. But now when it was required by an act of the council and the church, which it was dangerous to disobey; now that it could be forced by the zealots of a sect upon all whom they chose to harass, it must be abhorred, as occasioning, to the conscientious part of the community, much wretchedness, and as calculated to diffuse that relaxation of principle, which is the bitter fruit of every deviation from the tolerant spirit of pure religion.

The King dissatisfied with the conduct of his commissioner.

When Traquair transmitted an account of his proceedings, the King was highly dissatisfied. He blamed his commissioner for sanctioning the abolition of episcopacy as unlawful, instead of resting the abolition upon that form of polity being contrary to the constitutions of the Scotish church; and he prohibited him from allowing the word to be inserted in the act of parliament relating to the subject. He disapproved of several other parts of his conduct, in which he thought that he had departed from his instructions. It is plain from his Majesty's letter, that he was convinced that peace could not continue, and that his object now was, that the opposite faction should be so unreasonable in their demands, as would convince all candid men that

1st Oct.

they were determined to undermine the throne. Of the Covenant, Charles had written in a former letter, "Give your assent no otherways to the interpretation of it, than may stand with our future intentions, well known to you." 1639. 20th Aug.

The Assembly having thus regulated the great points respecting the church, and having made several arrangements as to the mode of appealing from inferior ecclesiastical judicatories, and for securing the moral and religious improvement of the people, particularly by enforcing the observance of the Lord's day, which was scandalously violated, concluded by expressing gratitude to the King for his concessions, and appointing the next meeting in the following July. * Conclusion of the Assembly. 30th Aug.

On the next day the parliament met. The abolition of the order of bishops created a difficulty as to the constitution of the estates. By the statutes and practice of the kingdom, eight prelates ought to have been chosen as Lords of Articles, to represent the church. This at present was not practicable, but it was agreed that, for this time, the commissioner should select, in room of the bishops, eight of the nobles. It was apparent, that the bill for removing episcopacy would be presented in a form highly offensive to the King, and Charle[illegible] 31st Aug. Meeting of Parliament.

* Acts of Assembly, 1639. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 156—159, and 160. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. part ii. p. 955. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 53. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 31.

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1639. avoid the ratification of it, took advantage of some other acts, limiting his prerogative, and commanded Traquair to express his displeasure at these, by adjourning parliament till the 14th of November.

30th Oct. When this prorogation was intimated, the covenanters protested against it as unconstitutional, the consent of parliament itself not having been obtained; and although they agreed to suspend their proceedings till the day specified for their reassembling, they sent the Earls of Dunfermline and Loudon to London, to remonstrate against what had happened, and to intreat that his Majesty would ratify the acts which had been prepared. They were not admitted into his presence, but were commanded instantly to return, whilst new instructions were sent to Traquair to prorogue parliament till the subsequent June, and immediately to come to court. The covenanters again protested, and they did so through a committee of each estate, which had been

Nov. previously appointed to wait for the King's answer, and to take such steps as seemed to them calculated to preserve the liberty and tranquillity of the kingdom. *

Traquair goes to London. The Earl of Traquair, upon his coming to London, was, on account of his conduct in the Assem-

* Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 955, 956. Franklin's Annals, p. 789, 790. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 159, 160. Guthrie, in his Memoirs, p. 55, 56, erroneously mentions, that all the acts of the Assembly were ratified by the Parliament. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 184. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 31.

bly, at first coldly received; but he vindicated what he had done from the necessity of the case, and earnestly advised his Majesty again to attempt by force to restrain his refractory subjects. To strengthen this advice, and to unveil the real spirit by which the covenanters were actuated, he produced a letter subscribed by their leading men, and addressed to the King of France, which had been accidentally discovered. In it, they entreated the French monarch to listen to the account of their proceedings which should be submitted to him, and implored such assistance as he might esteem it right to grant for advancing their cause. * Charles, who probably had determined to renew the war, was gratified by a document, upon which he could found a charge of treason against those by whom it had been signed, and which he trusted would tend to unite his English subjects in supporting the crown. Still, however, he was much perplexed about the manner of removing the difficulties which opposed the renewal of hostilities. His finances were exhausted; his former modes of raising supplies were odious and unproductive, whilst he shrunk from again committing himself to parliament. The letter to the King of France had no small effect in leading to the decision, that a parliament should be assembled.

1639.

Dec.

* Franklyn's Annals, p. 810, 811, where the letter is inserted. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 160. Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 103. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 956.

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1639. He hoped that the two Houses would not desert him, but would delay the consideration of grievances till they had crushed the rebellion with which he was threatened. Writs were accordingly issued, and, after an interval of twelve years, the great Assembly of the nation was summoned to meet in the following spring. *

Death and character of Archbishop Spottiswoode. Dec. 27.

About this time died Spottiswoode, archbishop of St Andrews. The distractions of his native country, and the popular detestation of his order, had led him, towards the end of life, to take refuge in England; and having resigned the high office of chancellor, the duties of which, at this perilous era, he had not fortitude to discharge, he came to London, and spent in tranquillity, respected by the King and the adherents of the royal cause, the evening of his days. His character has been drawn in very different colours by the writers who have transmitted it to posterity. By those who venerated him as the champion of the hierarchy, he has been represented as distinguished by his patriotism, and by the uniform regard which he paid to the religion of which he was a minister. By those again who viewed him as the subverter of the civil and religious liberty of Scotland, he has been stigmatized with a warmth of condemnation which must be ascribed to that party-zeal which aggravates defect, and casts a veil over the most brilliant

* Clarendon's History, Vol. I. p. 103. Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 316. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 59.

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virtue.—Of his real character, however, an accurate estimate may be formed from his public conduct, and from the impartial testimonies which have been preserved. Educated in the principles of the first reformers, which his venerable father uniformly avowed, he early determined to attach himself to the Court, and to embrace the sentiments that opened to him the prospect which his ambition contemplated. He thus forsook the presbyterians, with whom he at one time acted, and to whom he gave the counsel of a friend; and having professed his reverence for episcopacy, he ingratiated himself with James, obtaining first the archbishopric of Glasgow, and afterwards that of St Andrews. In his attempts to eradicate the tenets which he had abjured, and to establish the episcopalian polity, he acted with considerable violence and severity; he countenanced the High Court of Commission, and presided in it when the most harassing sentences were pronounced against men, whom, from his early habits, he should have revered and protected. Possessed of much discernment, he, however, at length saw the danger of attacking inconsiderately the religious prepossessions of his countrymen; he dissuaded Charles from the innovations which alienated the affections of the people, and recommended that moderate policy which might have prevented the excesses which he lived to deplore. Intimidated by the furious zeal of the multitude, he abandoned the scene of tumult, and committed to others that

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defence of the prerogative, which he was unable or unwilling to attempt.

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His private manners were much influenced by the situation in which he was placed. Alienated from the enemies of prelacy, who were marked by the sanctity, and even the austerity of their deportment, he conceived it right to depart from the strictness which he associated with enthusiasm; he paid little reverence to the Lord's day, was not regular in attending public worship, and affected a gaiety or looseness of behaviour, most unsuitable to his station in the church, and most ruinous to the cause which he was anxious to support. What might have originated from notions of expediency, became afterwards endeared to him by habit; and there is too much reason to believe that he was occasionally guilty of the levity and the dissipation with which he has been charged. Adversity corrected the errors which have been mentioned. Under the pressure of the disease which terminated his earthly existence, he evinced a fervour of pious feeling which fully warrants the belief, that, whatever were his infirmities or his faults, he had never doubted the truth or the obligation of religion.

His literary eminence rests upon solid ground. In his History of the Church of Scotland, he displays a degree of candour, which, considering the temper of the age in which he lived, entitles him to the highest honour. His delineation of the character, and his defence of the reputation of

Knox, present a singular and delightful contrast to the acrimony which abounds in contemporary writings; and although his attachment to episcopacy can be easily discerned, and has influenced the narrative of some of the transactions which he details, yet the information which he has collected is so valuable, and his reflections are so just, that his work must be prized by all who seek to appreciate its excellence. It was composed in the true spirit of a diligent historian; for he improved the opportunities which he enjoyed for collecting the materials which were requisite for its fidelity; examining manuscripts and records with a diligence, which shews that the splendour of his situation had not relaxed his industry, or made him careless of the reputation which he has justly acquired. *

* For the most ample and satisfactory information respecting Spottiswoode and his works, I refer to the conclusion of his Life, by Wodrow, in his MSS. Vol. III. folio. The industrious author has faithfully collected from a variety of MSS. and printed works, written by men of opposite political and religious sentiments, characters of the primate; and has given a number of most interesting particulars respecting the history, the care and diligence with which it was composed, and the different editions which have been published. Wodrow himself, a zealous presbyterian, often captiously blames the archbishop, for colouring the transactions relating to episcopacy and its opponents; but he allows his merit as an author, and disapproves of the asperity shewn by some of those whose remarks he has inserted. Dr Robertson, in the preface to his History of Scotland, confirms what Wodrow states as to the archbishop's research. It is unnecessary, after the full account which has been given of the primate, to repeat here the references which justify the view given of his character; but, to shew the bitter spirit of the times, I shall conclude

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1639. 17th Nov. Commissioners from Scotland sent to London.

Although the covenanters were mortified and provoked, that their commissioners had been denied access to the King, they did not relinquish their intention of vindicating their conduct, and remonstrating against the policy which had been adopted. They sent a messenger, intreating, that he would listen to what they were eager to represent to him; and that he might not seem to decide rashly against his discontented subjects, he gave his consent. The Earls of Loudon and Dunfermline were again dispatched, with two other persons, to assist them. Upon their arrival, the King agreed to see them; and as they refused to give an account of their embassy, except to himself, he listened to a long speech, in which Loudon justified the proceedings of parliament, desired that these should be ratified, and requested that the estates might be permitted to finish their deliberations. *

1640. Jan. 31.

Feb. 20.

this note with a short passage from the preface to a controversial work, by Principal Baillie, esteemed, and justly esteemed, one of the mildest and most moderate of his party:—"I was also content with another part of my task, to throw down to the dust of just contempt and well deserved disgrace, the unhappy and infamous wretches, Adamson, Spottiswoode, Maxwell, and Balcanqual." What stronger language could have been used, had the archbishop been one of the vilest men? and how cautious is it necessary to be in receiving the representations of those who could thus sink in political zeal, the candour and charity which their ardent religious professions should have led them to cherish?

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Vol. I. p. 102. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 57. Franklyn's Annals, p. 796, 797, and 802, where the substance of Loudon's speech is inserted. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 201, 202.

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Although in this address there were the strongest professions of loyalty, it could not fail, from the bold and firm tone in which it was spoken, to be offensive to Charles; and soon after, Loudon was committed to the Tower upon a charge of high treason, his name being attached to the letter to the French monarch. Against this apprehension he urged many strong reasons, and it certainly was little calculated to tranquillize Scotland. He declared, and the declaration was not contradicted, that the letter was written before the late agreement, and was, in consequence of it, laid aside; he contended, that, if there was any criminality, he was saved by the act of oblivion which had been passed; he maintained, that, at all events, he must be tried by his peers, in the country within which the offence was committed; and that, as he had come in a public capacity, by warrant from his Majesty, it was a breach of the law of nations to deprive him of his liberty. These considerations produced no effect, and it was even determined to proceed capitally against him; but the Marquis of Hamilton, who saw the shocking consequences that would result from this, implored the King to alter his intentions, suggesting to him, that much more advantage would accrue from gaining so powerful a nobleman, than from putting him to death. *

The Earl of Loudon committed to the Tower.

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 103. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 160, 161. Sanderson's Reign of Charles I. p. 261 and 274. Crawford's life of

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1640. Covenanters prepare for hostilities.

The intelligence transmitted to Scotland that a parliament had been summoned for obtaining supplies, combined with the irritation excited by the imprisonment of the Earl of Loudon, induced the covenanters to lose no time in preparing for the new war which they confidently anticipated. They summoned all the noblemen, gentlemen, and popular ministers, to meet at Edinburgh, and at this meeting it was resolved to raise an army, to levy money, and to fortify such places of strength as they were able to secure. In these warlike determinations the clergy took an active part. They not only inculcated upon the people the importance or necessity of entering into the war, but, forgetting their proper duties, they employed the pulpit as the organ of their party, exhorting their hearers to contribute liberally to the public necessities. In this they were most successful. Women eagerly surrendered their jewels and their plate in a cause which they identified with religion;—the most wealthy of the nobility granted bonds for large sums of money;—and Dick, a merchant in Edinburgh, who had accumulated great wealth, cheerfully expended it in aiding the designs of the covenanters. *

March 10.

* Loudon, in Lives of Officers of State, p. 201, 202. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 992—1038.

Burnet's Memoirs, p. 162. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 57—59. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1214. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 202, 203.

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In thus preparing for so hazardous a contest, the presbyterians were much encouraged by some events which took place in England, and which led them to conclude that a great part of the inhabitants of that kingdom wished success to their efforts for independence. Whilst the Earls of Loudon and Dunfermline were in London, they held many conferences with persons of considerable influence, and, by a strange and shameful forgery, they were drawn to believe, that, in the event of war, they might depend upon the secret support of many of the English nobles. But they were elated chiefly by the issue of the English parliament. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the King and his courtiers, and notwithstanding the vehemence and parade with which he dwelt upon the letter to the French monarch, as an evidence of the most horrible intentions, parliament persisted in the resolution of entering upon grievances before they granted supplies; and, after much altercation, and several propositions even by his official servants, which were considered by him as insidious, or designed to involve him in trouble, he, to the great regret of the most prudent statesmen, in anger dissolved the Assembly, upon which the hopes of the nation had been rested. *

1640. Encouraged by the state of England.

13th April.

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 103—110. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 166. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 59. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1114—1155. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 33, 34.

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1640. 2d June. A Parliament in Scotland.

Having succeeded in collecting forces, and in raising supplies, the covenanters entrusted the command of the army once more to Leslie, and they determined, at the expiration of the period named by the King, to assemble the estates. To prevent this his Majesty had sent an order to some of the lords of the council to prorogue parliament till July, but, from accident or inclination, there was some error in form which invalidated the commission. The consequence of this was, that the parliament was declared to be lawfully constituted; the acts with which it was occupied when last adjourned were passed; Ruthven, who had refused to surrender the castle of Edinburgh, of which he was governor, was forfeited; and a great committee was appointed, consisting of twelve from each of the estates, one half of which was to attend the general, and to give their advice respecting military affairs, whilst the other half was to remain at Edinburgh, for conducting all matters at home. After the prorogation of the estates, this branch of the committee transmitted to the Earl of Lanerick, brother to the Marquis of Hamilton, and who had lately been appointed secretary for Scotland, the various acts which had been sanctioned, with a letter in which they defended the legality of the parliament, and intreated him to procure his Majesty's ratification. The conclusion of the letter shews the state of feeling and sentiment amongst the covenanters. "We do therefore, in name of the estates, desire your

17th June.

Lordship (all other ways of information being stopt) to represent unto his Majesty against all suspicions, suggestions, and tentations to the contrary, the constant love and loyalty of this kingdom unto his royal authority and person, as their native King and kindly Monarch; and that they are seeking nothing but the establishing of their religion and liberties under his Majesty's government, that they may still be a free kingdom to do his Majesty all the honour and service that become humble subjects; that their extremity is greater through the hostility and violence threatened by arms, and already done to them and their persons and goods, by castles within, and ships without the kingdom, than they can longer endure; and that, as his Majesty loveth his own honour, and the weal of this his ancient kingdom, speedy course may be taken for their relief and quietness: And that, if this their faithful remonstrance, (which, as the great council of the kingdom, they found themselves bound to make at this time for their exoneration,) be passed over in silence, or answered with delays, they must prepare and provide for their own deliverance and safety." * In conformity with the language thus addressed to the Sovereign, they prosecuted their schemes of defence and aggression; they imposed a heavy tax for defraying the expence of the campaign; they

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 166—168. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 61, 62. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1210—1213.

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commanded the different counties to raise the forces which they had been required to furnish; and they

1640. soon saw their general at the head of an army able to encounter any force which would probably be brought against them. *

Return of the Earl of Loudon.

The Earl of Loudon, during his confinement in the Tower, made repeated efforts to obtain his enlargement, and, alarmed for his life, he was disposed to purchase safety by serving the King in Scotland. The Marquis of Hamilton interceded for him with Charles, and a kind of treaty was at length concluded. Loudon pledged himself to the marquis to use every effort to preserve peace,—to induce the covenanters to petition his Majesty for the confirmation of their religion and liberties, and to prevent the assembling of an army, or, if it was already col-

27th June. lected, to stay its march into England. Several articles of inferior importance were inserted in the agreement, and Loudon having been liberated, and graciously received by his Majesty, was permitted to return to his native country. Of his sincerity

3d July. there can be little doubt, but upon his arrival he saw that his interference would be fruitless, and he merely delivered the answer which Lanerick sent by him to the memorial from the committee of parliament. His return, however, filled his party with

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 173. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 62. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 203.

joy, and increased their confidence that they should ultimately be successful. *

1640. General Assembly at Aberdeen. 28th July.

Amidst the preparations for war, the General Assembly met at Aberdeen, and after waiting for a day, lest a commissioner from the King should arrive, they proceeded, according to their own liberties, as they expressed themselves, to deliberate upon the affairs of the church. Several acts were passed, illustrating the sentiments and prejudices which then prevailed. With unnecessary zeal all idolatrous monuments were ordered to be destroyed; ministers were ordained carefully to attend to all charmers, witches, and other such abusers of the people, and to urge that the acts of parliament against them should be put in force. Severe measures were enjoined to be taken against those, who, having subscribed the covenant, spoke disrespectfully of that much-revered obligation. But the Assembly was chiefly occupied with discussions respecting some practices which were gaining ground, and which filled the ministers with the most serious alarm. A number of Scotchmen who had settled in Ireland, and who had all the zeal of their countrymen against the innovations, being urged by the bishops to countenance the liturgy and the ceremonies connected with it, withdrew from public worship; and being deprived of their minister, they

* Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 113. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 170—172. Crawford's life of Loudon, in Lives of Officers of State, p. 203. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 63.

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secretly met to promote, by prayer and exhortation, their mutual comfort and instruction. Gratified by the facility with which they expressed themselves, and concluding from this that they were peculiarly favoured with divine illumination, they were unwilling to relinquish what flattered their vanity no less than it warmed their zeal; they readily listened to some of the followers of Brown, the champion of independency, and became inclined to adopt the polity which these followers recommended. Many of them having been kindly received in Scotland, continued in that country their private assemblies; condemned in the true sectarian spirit all who differed from them; and, even in their addresses to the Deity, did not shrink from disparaging the clergy who were averse to their theological tenets. This abuse, as it was considered by the presbyterians, had attracted the notice of the preceding Assembly. Henderson, the great leader of the church, had with much vehemence declaimed against it; and it was agreed, that however proper such meetings might have been in seasons of persecution, they should, in a church regularly constituted, and dispensing in purity the ordinances of religion, be discontinued, as tending to the hindrance of public worship, to the prejudice of the ministry, and destroying the unity of Christian congregations. But it could not be imagined that this opinion would deter from what was revered as a holy practice. The new sect condemned with much vehemence the

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opinion of Henderson; they were confirmed in their notions by some English independents by whom they were joined; and they were encouraged by several of the strictest of the clergy, who believed that the extemporaneous effusions at the meetings were evidences of pure evangelical piety. Shewing from all these causes no tendency to renounce their views, the matter was again brought under the consideration of the Assembly at Aberdeen. Much violent and not very decent altercation took place. The ministers, divided in their sentiments, supported or reprobated the meetings, but at length all seemed sensible that abuses might arise from them; and an act was framed, prohibiting persons not in the ministry from publicly explaining the scriptures. As they for whom this remedy was intended justified themselves upon the ground that they were only practising family worship, it was declared, that such worship should be limited to the members of the same family. *

In passing this ordinance, the members were guided by the principle for which they afterwards strenuously contended, that it was essential to the interest of religion that it should be taught and administered only in the manner which they approved; thus assuming that direction of the faith of their countrymen, the attempt at which they were at this

* Baillie, Vol. I. p. 196—202, compared with Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 66—70.

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very moment reprobating in the bishops, and thus incorporating with their ecclesiastical system a tendency to persecution which would have converted religion into a source of misery, making it the instrument of corruption, instead of the guide and the consolation of life. Their conduct was as impolitic as it was unchristian. Had they beheld with indifference the enthusiasm or the zeal of men who from motives, as they imagined, of conscience, wished to dissent from the establishment, or to add to the provision which it had made for cherishing devotion, they would probably have found that what ceased to attract notice ceased to be pursued; that either they who had wandered would return to the church, or its peace would be secured by being freed from turbulent spirits, similar to those which even in the days of the Apostles with reluctance submitted to the order which, in the primitive churches, had been prescribed by their inspired founders. But, obvious as these truths now happily are, they long feebly influenced, if they influenced at all, different communities of Christians; and we shall soon see displays of intolerance, and a bigotted antipathy to religious freedom, which almost all sects of the present day would be forward to condemn.

The Assembly, before its dissolution, appointed another meeting in the subsequent year; and with that appearance of respect for the King which had not yet been laid aside, it was resolved that he

should, in a proper manner, be requested to send a commissioner. *

1640. Commencement of hostilities. 20th Aug.

The King having collected a powerful army, entrusted the command of it to the Earl of Northumberland; but this nobleman being prevented from acting by the impaired state of his health, the command devolved upon the lieutenant-general, the celebrated Earl of Strafford, who was considered as having strongly advised the war, who was obnoxious to many of the nobility, and who was detested by the patriots, from whom he had revolted. Lord Conway led the cavalry; and his Majesty, having struggled with many difficulties, with the disaffection of several of the nobles, with the discontent of the city of London, the opposition of the party favourable to Scotland, and the embarrasment arising from want of supplies, again went to York, in the hope of reducing to obedience a party whose cause was viewed with rapidly extending admiration. †

The Scotish army marched to the borders; and as it was impossible for it to find subsistence without invading England, the general, after expressing the utmost regard for the inhabitants of that kingdom, crossed the Tweed, and slowly traversed North-

* Printed Acts of Assembly, 1640, p. 27. The act upon which I have made the observations in the body of the work was not published, but its title is inserted amongst the unprinted Acts.

† Franklyn's Annals, p. 835, and 846—848. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 115. Life of Charles I. prefixed to his works, p. 21. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii, p. 1050, 1051, and 1221. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 35.

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umberland, to occupy a more fertile district. On the following day, a proclamation in name of the King was issued, denouncing the covenanters in arms as traitors; but this did not diminish their ardour, or suspend their resolution. Having reached a ford of the river Tyne, above Newcastle, at a place called Newburn, they saw a party of the enemy, under Lord Conway, prepared to dispute the passage.

28th Aug. Success of the Covenanters.

Unintimidated by the prospect of opposition, they made a bold effort to pass the river, and they directed their artillery against the trenches of their opponents, who, after making a feeble resistance, disgracefully fled. The whole of the King's army immediately after this skirmish retreated, and the Scotch thus most unexpectedly got possession of Newcastle, which gave them the undisturbed command of the whole northern division of England. *

This success in a great measure decided the campaign in favour of the Scotch. Had resistance been protracted, or had the town of Newcastle, even after the shameful retreat of Conway, stood out for the King, the army of the covenanters, deprived of supplies, would have speedily dispersed; for previous to this period symptoms of discontent had

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 173, 174. Baillie's Letters, Vol. I. p. 203, 204, and 208. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 70, 71. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 114. He calls the rout a shameful and confounded flight. Franklyn's Annals, p. 846, 847. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1221,—1238. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 35.

been manifested, and numbers had withdrawn to return to their own country. * But they now raised with ease the contributions which they required; they assumed an attitude which gave weight to their representations; they distributed in the surrounding towns divisions of their forces; and they impressed upon vast numbers the political and religious sentiments which they entertained. Even thus early had they extended their views beyond their own concerns, and embraced the situation of England. Not doubting, that, after their success, they would obtain for themselves terms sufficiently favourable, they announced how much they would be disappointed, if the political and religious principles for which they had struggled should not be given to the whole of Britain; and they did not hesitate to rouse the proud feelings of those amongst whom they were now residing by this strong language, "That if the English should be beasts and dastardly towards them, they themselves must lie, without any man's pity, under their slavish servitude for ever." †

Their conduct.

Elated with victory, and assured that the English army was retreating in consternation, the Scotch nevertheless determined not to pursue their success. They permitted the King's forces to retire unmo-

* Baillie, Vol. I. p. 205 and 207, compared with Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 114.

† Burnet's Memoirs, p. 174. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 71—73. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 205 and 208.

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lested to York; they immediately dispatched an assurance to London that they should not interrupt the supply of coal, a measure by which they might have cruelly distressed the metropolis; and they resolved again to present a supplication to the humbled and unhappy King, beseeching him to grant their requests, and to restore peace to his distracted kingdom. They inclosed the supplication to Lanerick, requesting that he would present it, and that an answer might be quickly returned. *

2d Sept.

Distressed situation of the King.

Charles, notwithstanding the professions of loyalty which the lords of the covenant still made, too certainly perceived that they were now dictating what they affected to solicit, and, had he been secure of the attachment of those by whom he was surrounded, or of the affections of his people, he would probably not have hesitated to dismiss the messenger, and to endeavour to retrieve the military reputation which Conway had forfeited. But he saw in every quarter difficulty and danger. He had summoned a grand council of his nobility to meet him at York, but many of the most popular of this order had met in London, and had framed a petition, in which they enumerated the evils which filled them with alarm, and urged the assembling of parliament as the most effectual remedy. This

* Burnet's Memoirs, p. 174—176. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 115. Baillie, Vol. I. p. 207. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 73. Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1258, 1259.

petition was presented to his Majesty on the same day with that of the covenanters, and it deeply affected him. It, however, induced him not to reject the proposals of his Scotish subjects, and he authorized the secretary to inform them, that if they would specify what they conceived to be essential to their freedom, he should return an answer. They in consequence repeated to Lanerick what they had more fully stated in the acts of their last parliament, and in the various papers which they had lately circulated. They demanded, "that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to ratify the conclusions of the estates; that the castle of Edinburgh and other fortresses should be used for their defence and security; that none of his subjects should be harassed for subscribing the covenant; that the common incendiaries who had been the authors of the combustion in his Majesty's dominions, should receive their just censure;"—and to these they added some other particulars connected with the political and commercial situation of the kingdom. This memorial the King referred to the council of nobles, by whom he was advised to negotiate with the presbyterians; and Lanerick intimated his Majesty's appointment of a conference to be held at Northallerton. The result of the correspondence was the commencement of a treaty at Rippon; but the King having, from the necessity of his affairs, summoned a parliament to meet in November, the treaty was suspended till it could be renewed in

1640. 5th Sept.

9th Sept.

24th Sept.

1st Oct.

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London, and an armistice for two months was concluded. The commissioners appointed by the covenanters were thus, with the royal sanction, called to the metropolis, and from this arrangement there arose an official correspondence between them and the discontented party in England, which produced the interesting consequences to church and state which shall now be detailed. *

* Franklyn's Annals, p. 852—856. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 174—180. Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 115—126. Baillie's Letters and Journals, Vol. I. p. 210, 211. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 73, 74. The most minute information respecting the whole proceedings is to be found in Rushworth's Collections, Vol. II. Part ii. p. 1260—1307. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 35—37.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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